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Amendment to the Constitution of the Russian Federation as Putin's Political Communication Force

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Abstract

This article aims at discussing Vladimir Putin's use of constitutional amendments as a political communication tool. The 2020 amendments to the Russian Constitution have significant implications for Putin's political powers and communication strategies. This research explores Putin's role in the constitutional amendments using a qualitative methodology, a literature-based approach, and an analysis of laws and regulations. The study results indicate that Putin uses constitutional amendments to increase his authority and extend the President's term. One of the communication strategies employed is effectively utilizing media and communication channels to create a narrative supporting the amendment. Putin also uses nationalist rhetoric and Russian identity to legitimize his decisions. In addition, Putin controls state media and prioritizes messages that influence public opinion. Putin's political communication strategy includes manipulating propaganda and information to enhance his position, maintain public opinion, and obtain support.

Keywords*: Amendment; President Putin; Political Communications*

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Amandemen Konstitusi Rusia Sebagai Kekuatan Komunikasi Politik Putin

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas penggunaan amandemen konstitusi oleh Vladimir Putin sebagai alat komunikasi politik. Amandemen konstitusi Rusia tahun 2020 memiliki implikasi signifikan bagi kekuatan politik dan strategi komunikasi Putin. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi peran Putin dalam amandemen konstitusi dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif, pendekatan berbasis literatur, dan analisis peraturan perundang-undangan. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa Putin menggunakan amandemen konstitusi untuk meningkatkan kewenangannya dan memperpanjang masa jabatan presiden. memanfaatkan media dan saluran komunikasi secara efektif untuk menciptakan narasi yang mendukung amandemen adalah salah satu strategi komunikasi yang digunakan. Putin juga menggunakan retorika nasionalis dan identitas Rusia untuk melegitimasi keputusannya. Selain

itu, Putin mengendalikan media pemerintah dan mengutamakan pesan-pesan yang kondusif untuk mempengaruhi opini publik. Strategi komunikasi politik Putin mencakup penggunaan propaganda dan manipulasi informasi untuk meningkatkan posisinya. Hal itu juga digunakan untuk mempengaruhi opini publik dan mendapatkan dukungan.

Kata kunci: *Amandemen; Presiden Putin; Komunikasi politik*

INTRODUCTION

A referendum was held across Russia to decide whether or not the country's Constitution should be changed in 2020. Due to the modifications and the substantial significant changes to the power structure and the presidential office, President Vladimir Putin will now be able to remain in office until the year 2036. In addition, the revisions increased the power of parliament, broadened citizens' social and economic rights, and defined marriage as a romantic partnership between a man and a woman. This referendum took place in June 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic. Some observers consider it an attempt to consolidate Putin's position and assure his political future. The referendum results showed widespread support for the constitutional revisions, notwithstanding the criticism and controversy surrounding the voting process. The turnout rate was approximately 68%. When the bill was finally ratified, the modifications were formally introduced on July 4, 2020, and they went into effect on December 4, 2020. Since then, Russia's political climate has shifted, and Vladimir Putin's influence and authority have grown to the point that they are increasingly predominant. On the other hand, many believe that the modifications to the Constitution will weaken Russia's democratic and human rights systems (Leshchenko, 2020).

In Russia, the discussion has shifted to whether constitutional modifications should be ratified through a referendum. Some others view it as an effort to bolster Putin's position and make it possible for him to maintain his hold on power for an extended time. But people's thoughts on this proposed constitutional amendment were all over the place, and some people were very critical of it, arguing that it would be a move in the wrong direction for democracy and political liberties. The modifications to the Constitution also gave the parliaments, specifically the State Duma and Federation Council, a more prominent role in formulating policies and exercising supervision over the executive branch. In addition, another essential aspect is that the amendment reaffirms the sacred and inviolable status of the entire territory of Russia, which cannot be divided into smaller parts and cannot be severed in any way.

Various people believe it is critical to modify the Constitution to bolster Putin's authority. Some of those who advocate for changing the Constitution in this way do so because they believe it will lead to greater political consistency in Russia. It is thought that political stability can be maintained over the long term if Putin's position is bolstered and he is given more authority over the administration (Hale, 2021).

This research is necessary as it can provide a better knowledge of how Putin used his powers and expertise in politics

to influence and engineer the process of amending the Constitution, and how Putin utilized his powers and expertise in politics. It may shed light on Putin's political approach, which he employed to bolster his position and increase his influence in organizing modifications to the Constitution. Numerous power groups and interests within the state are typically involved in amending the Constitution. In this context, research on constitutional amendments can be used to identify interest groups that support these changes. These interest groups can include the political lobbying role of Putin and the political alliances he created. This could give information on the power structures and political relationships in Russia.

Amendments to a nation's Constitution can significantly alter the political landscape and the balance of power. This research discusses how changes to the Constitution affect the political system in Russia, particularly the influence that Putin has in securing his position as a state leader and managing the institutions of the government. Likewise, this study also analyzes the ramifications for democracy and human rights in Russia for amending the Constitution. It is possible to investigate, within the framework of this research, whether the amendments to the Constitution provide broader options for authoritarianism or political tyranny. It is essential to do such an analysis to understand the political processes taking place in Russia and their effect on the democratic order (Kryshtanovskaya, 2020).

To answer aforesaid issues, the research questions have been proposed as follows: To what extent is the power of Putin's political lobby in amending the Constitution? What is the content of the constitutional amendments in favor of Putin? How do the constitutional amendments impact Russian politics?

METHODS

Research on the Amendments to the Russian Constitution as a Strength of Putin's Political Communications uses qualitative research methodologies, including literary and statutory approaches. In the literature method, the researchers collect data from diverse literary sources such as books, articles, journals, official documents, speeches, and other publications linked to revisions to the Russian Constitution and Putin's political communications. Some examples of these materials include books; articles; journals; official documents; speeches; and other publications. The research uses the data to understand better the background, strategy, political messaging, and impact of Putin's political communications while changing the Constitution. In addition, the researcher can study ideas and concepts connected to the research topic and obtain insights from past research pertinent to the subject through the literature approach.

The statutory rule approach studies and analyzes the legal framework governing the Russian constitutional amendment process. This study examines the relevant regulations, laws, and legal provisions that form the basis for amendments to the Constitution. It allows the researchers to understand Putin's role in amending the Constitution within the existing legal framework. Furthermore, the statutory rule approach assists the researchers in seeing how Putin's political power is used

in a legal context to influence and direct constitutional amendments (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017).

Conducting qualitative research, this study applies qualitative analysis approaches, such as content analysis, grounded theory, or thematic analysis, to examine the data gathered from the literature approach and the laws and regulation. The researchers obtain a thorough knowledge of the revisions to the Russian Constitution as the power of Putin's political communications if they combine two methods: one that focuses on the literature and the other looks at the statutes. Researchers can study the research issue's theoretical, historical, and legal aspects using qualitative methodologies. This results in in-depth insights into how Vladimir Putin uses his power to amend the Russian Constitution through his political communications.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Putin's political lobbying power in the constitutional amendment process

Putin's control of the Russian political system

One of the political lobbying forces which can potentially impact the process of amending the Constitution is Vladimir Putin's dominance over the political system in Russia. Over several years, Vladimir Putin has amassed solid political supremacy in Russia. He has increased the President's control over the country's institutions of government and political parties and solidified the power held. Therefore, Putin has significant power throughout action for revising the Constitution and the overall process (Fish, 2018).

Putin has maintained a stranglehold on the media in Russia. It has a tight grip over the state media, which it uses to manage access to information and its delivery through direct ownership or political influence. Thus, Putin has molded the narrative to bolster the constitutional amendments and manipulate public opinion (Tsygankov, 2017). In addition, Putin has constructed political coalitions with various power groups and political elites in Russia. Putin was able to get substantial political support for constitutional revisions by leveraging both his political connections and his economic influence. This coalition considerably impacts how politics are conducted in the country (McFaul, 2017).

Additionally, Putin possesses a significant amount of control over the legislative bodies of Russia, such as the State Duma and the Federation Council. Putin is in a position to get support for and adoption of any revisions to the Constitution that he proposes since he controls the political parties (Sakwa, 2018).

The influence of Putin's control over Russia's political system makes him very substantial as a political lobbying force in amending the Constitution. Putin has successfully consolidated his authority through political tools, such as political dominance, media control, political alliances, and influence over the legislature. He has also been successful in gaining control of the Russian legislative. Because of this dominance, Putin can manipulate and influence the process of amending the Constitution in as he sees fit. Putin's rise to political authority in Russia has given him a firm grip on Russia's administration and political parties. This grants Putin the

ability to influence modifications to the Constitution following his political agenda and the interests he wishes to advance. Furthermore, Putin builds narratives supporting constitutional revisions as he controls the media. He can also manage the information the general public can access since he controls the media. As a result, he can exert influence over public opinion and generate political support for the amendment (Fish, 2018).

Revising the Constitution, Putin's political coalition, which he created with power groupings and political elites, provides substantial political backing. Putin can garner political approval through his political links and economic influence, which is vital for gaining consent and support in altering the Constitution to suit Putin's preferences. The power that Putin wields over legislative bodies, such as the State Duma and the Federation Council, enables him to exercise much control over the process of amending the Constitution. Putin's grip over political parties guarantees that the Russian people accept and support the constitutional amendments he seeks (McFaul, 2017; Sakwa, 2018).

Utilization of political lobbying techniques to guarantee the success of constitutional amendments

Implementing a political lobbying plan is necessary for securing the success of an amendment to the Constitution. However, the performance of political lobbying methods looks different depending on the nature of the Constitution's alterations and the context carried out. Forming alliances with interest groups with considerable political support is integral to political lobbying methods. Political actors obtain necessary support to push for and ensure the success of an amendment to the Constitution if they form solid political alliances with one another first (Hall & Deardorff, 2006). The political lobbying approach also includes efforts to influence policymakers, such as members of parliament and government officials playing crucial roles in amending the Constitution. These efforts are included in the political lobbying strategy. Lobbyists can get the support and approval of policymakers if they can effectively communicate with them, use an effective system, and provide appropriate incentives (Berry, 2009).

The successful execution of a political lobbying strategy often depends on having adequate financial resources at one's disposal. The organization's use of cash for its campaigns, advertising, and lobbying efforts can impact public perception and opinion, in addition to assisting the organization in garnering support from relevant interest groups (Grossmann & Helpman, 2001). In addition, the strategy of political lobbying includes establishing efficient communication and narratives to affect the general public's attitude. To successfully alter the Constitution, political actors need to be able to craft persuasive arguments and garner public support for the changes they seek to make to the Constitution (Entman, 2012; Sinyavskaya, 2020).

The successful execution of a political lobbying strategy is one of the essential factors in determining whether or not a proposed constitutional amendment will be ratified. Forming powerful political alliances, exerting influence

over policymakers, utilizing appropriate financial resources, and establishing persuasive communications and narratives are all essential to an efficient political lobbying strategy. Political actors can garner the necessary support to push for and ensure the success of an amendment to the Constitution if they first create the stable political alliances necessary. A successful lobbying effort directed at the relevant policymakers is also essential to securing the required approvals and support. In addition, the Utilization of adequate financial resources can affect the perception and opinion of the general public, in addition to assisting in the acquisition of support from key interest groups. Public support for the necessary constitutional reforms may have been built up with the help of effective communication and narrative frameworks. Implementing a political lobbying strategy is essential in constitutional amendments, for it enables political actors to influence public opinion, gain political support, and ensure the success of constitutional amendments following the desired political interests and agenda.

The influence of economic policy on Putin's political support

The influence over economic policy was a solid political lobbying force which played a role in amending the Constitution that Putin led. Adopting sound economic policies and maintaining financial stability are critical components in garnering political support for amending the Constitution. Putin can create a solid support base from economic and commercial groups if he pursues measures to increase economic growth, decrease unemployment, raise incomes, and preserve national economic interests. Therefore, economically sound policies have the potential to bolster Vladimir Putin's political standing in the process of amending the Constitution (Aslund, 2019; Hill & Gaddy, 2013).

Putin exerts much control over important facets of the Russian economy, such as the banking, energy, and mining industries. Because Putin is in the management of these economic resources, he can utilize monetary policy as a tool to exert influence over interest groups and win political support for revisions to the Constitution. Due to his power in various critical economic sectors, Putin can offer incentives to business executives and members of the financial elite and exert pressure on them to support the constitutional reforms he seeks (Sakwa, 2019; Shevtsova, 2018).

Putin's economic policies involve the provision of financial rewards to those that support him. Putin can assure better political support for the revisions to the Constitution by implementing programs that bring economic benefits to specific groups, such as government employees, the military, and individuals within Putin's circle of power. This method incentivizes these groups to keep Putin in his political position and even strengthen it (Evans, 2017; Simms & Ross, 2017).

The influence of economic policy is a solid political lobbying force in amending the Constitution Putin is heading. A political lobbying approach involving effective financial policies and maintaining economic stability, control over economic

resources, and distribution of economic benefits to organizations that support Putin can increase Putin's political position in changing the Constitution. Such a plan involves effective financial policies and maintains economic stability. Putin can construct a solid foundation of political support from economic and business groupings if he pursues economic policies to foster economic growth, raise incomes, and guard national economic interests. Having control over the most important economic sectors also allows one to exert influence on interest groups and put pressure on or offer incentives to those groups.

Additionally, the delivery of economic rewards to the groups supporting him generates incentives for those groups to continue supporting Putin politically and bolster his position. This assisted in the building of a network of powers that backed the reforms he intended to make to the Constitution. The significance of economic considerations in Russian politics is demonstrated by the fact that Vladimir Putin used monetary policy as a political lobbying force to amend the Constitution. Additional research into the relationship between economic policy and constitutional amendments provides a more in-depth understanding of political dynamics and Putin's power in winning constitutional amendments that align with his political aims.

The substance of constitutional amendments favorable to Putin

Increased presidential power in the Russian political system

The content of the constitutional amendments passed in Putin's favor reflects the efforts to enhance and extend presidential powers within Russia's political system. The modification to the Constitution raised the maximum number of terms that a president can serve from two to three. Previously, a president could only do in office for two consecutive terms. This affords Putin the potential to remain in power for an extended period, thereby increasing his sway over the political process in Russia (Herszenhorn & Higgins, 2020; Satarov, 2020)

The revisions to the Constitution granted the President expanded authority to select and remove high-ranking officials, including the right to designate high-ranking officials in government agencies, courts, and security services. These expanded powers were granted to the President. The power not only bolstered the President's authority over the bureaucracy but also made it possible for Putin to keep his network of political influence intact (Smith & McFaul, 2021; Trochev, 2020). The constitutional revisions gave the President the authority to nominate and appoint members of the State Oversight Body, a new oversight body with a wide range of responsibilities. In addition, the President is the only person who can remove constitutional judges from their positions for specific grounds. It affects the judicial system's independence and oversight bodies because it boosts the President's power over those entities(Hill, 2020; Marples, 2020).

The rise in presidential powers within the framework of the Russian political system is the modification to the Russian Constitution considered to be the most significant overall change. Vladimir Putin,

the President of Russia, enhanced his grip over local governments and governors while expanding his authority over the government's administrative, legislative, and judicial branches. The reforms also removed limits on the number of terms a president can serve and permitted Putin to run the country until 2036. Thus, Putin could potentially rule Russia for more than twenty years (Brown, 2020; Graham, 2009; Sakwa, 2020).

According to the author's point of view, the content of the constitutional modifications that are favorable to Putin represents an expansion in the power of the presidency within Russia's political system. As a result of the change, Putin strengthened his authority over regional governments and governors and the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

Added limits on presidential terms

Including term restrictions for the presidency is one of the provisions of the constitutional revision benefitting Putin. As a result of this modification, article 81, paragraph 3 of the Russian Constitution was modified, so the term limit for the presidency was increased from the previous restriction of two consecutive terms to a maximum of three times in office. Putin has already completed two terms as President and it would allow him to keep his position as President for at least another decade until 2036 (Greene, 2020).

According to the opinions of certain political observers, this amendment was drafted to bolster Putin's power and preserve political stability in Russia. On the other hand, many believe that placing restrictions on the number of terms a president can serve in office violates the fundamental tenets of democracy and will lead to a greater concentration of power in Putin's hands (Trenin, 2020a)

The change does away with term restrictions for the presidency, granting Vladimir Putin the opportunity to lead Russia for a more extended period. Moreover, Putin has been given increased influence over the operation of the government resulting in a rise in the presidential powers that he possesses and has elevated him to a pivotal position in the political system of Russia. In addition, it enables Putin to maintain his control in Russian politics over a long time and exert influence over significant policies and decision-making.

Increased state control over the security sector and foreign policy

The Russian Federation's Constitution governs the authority of the Russian President to make strategic decisions about foreign policy and state security. Therefore, the reference to upholding Russia's national security and territorial integrity is under the purview of the President, who is also responsible for representing the country in its dealings with other nations. Furthermore, the Constitution regulates the function of parliament in monitoring and supervising the use of military force and the nation's foreign policy.

The Russian Federation places significant importance on the strategic decisions made concerning its defense and foreign policies. In addition, Russia

has strategic interests regarding ties with other countries, national security, and foreign policy because it is a major country with a significant amount of power on a worldwide scale.

In this sense, Russia's foreign policy encompasses a wide range of domains, including diplomacy, bilateral relations, membership in international organizations, international trade, and concerns about global security. Decisions of a strategic nature were made to advance Russia's national interests, preserve its security and territorial integrity, and foster relationships with other nations that benefit both parties(Kanet, 2010; Tsygankov, 2019). In addition, strategic choices made concerning Russia's national defense also play a significant part in the country's ability to maintain its security and stability. Specifically, this entails the cultivation and modernization of armed forces, defense plans, and protection against internal and external dangers. These decisions are essential for preserving Russia's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the stability of its national security (Baev, 2020).

The Russian Federation places a high priority on both its foreign policy and its defense strategy as it is a country which possesses a massive area and a significant number of strategic interests. Relationships with other nations, participation in international trade, and joint efforts in the political and military spheres are all components of this approach. To guarantee that policy decisions are made following national interests and contributing to the state's security, the state needs to exert greater control over the security sector and foreign policy.

Impact of constitutional amendments on Russian politics

Changes in power dynamics in Russia

An expansion of presidential authority is one of the most significant outcomes resulting from the revisions to the Russian Constitution. The modifications grant the President increased control over all three branches of government: the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary, as well as over municipal governments. It places an even greater emphasis on the President's role as the preeminent leader of the country and further concentrates power in his hands. In addition, the modifications to the Constitution aim to promote more political stability in Russia by giving the President expanded presidential powers and a more significant degree of authority over the institutions of the state. A robust and stable government is anticipated to boost policies' effectiveness and minimize political uncertainty (Graham, 2009).

Several people who believe they will reduce the amount of political and oppositional space in Russia criticized the revisions to the Constitution. As a result of changes to term limits, enhanced presidential powers, and control over state institutions, the political opposition may find it more difficult to challenge Putin's political dominance. Overall, the constitutional modifications resulted in Putin's influence as Russia's leader being consolidated due to these changes. Putin can continue his control in Russian politics and influence the country's policies and direction for a more extended period if the role of the President is bolstered through this reform (Aslund, 2020).

Implications for Russia's relations with other countries

The revisions made to the Constitution of the Russian Federation in 2020 will affect Russia's relationships with foreign nations. For instance, several Western nations have voiced their disapproval of the constitutional modifications, viewing them as an effort on Putin's part to increase his power and restrict democratic rights in Russia. A rise in state control over the country's security apparatus and foreign policy can also impact Russia's standing in international relations. The shifting power dynamics in Russia may require other countries to adjust the methods and policies they employ in their foreign relations in response to these shifts. However, clearer and more substantial consequences for Russia's ties with other nations still need to be watched and analyzed continually in line with developments in the political situation in Russia and at the world level. It must be done in conjunction with developments in the political situation in Russia and at the international level (News, 2020).

The other implications for Russia's relations with other countries as a result of amendments to the Constitution may include several things including (Hill, 2019; Mankoff, 2020)

First: Consolidation of Putin's Power. As a result of constitutional reforms that strengthened the presidency's powers, Vladimir Putin can now make more decisive and speedier choices about Russian foreign policy. It leads to a more consistent and unified policy continuity, affecting Russia's ties with other countries.

Second: A Firmer Foreign Policy. Constitutional modifications can result in a more aggressive and consistent foreign policy due to increased presidential control over the nation's foreign policy. It involves emphasizing Russia's national interests, boosting its military power, or taking a more aggressive approach to dealing with regional and international challenges.

Third: Priority and Strategy Changes. Expanding the President's powers can potentially affect Russia's priorities and strategies in its interactions with other countries. As a result, Putin may have more leeway in deciding the course and priorities of Russian foreign policy, provided that they align with preexisting national interests and objectives.

Fourth: Challenges in International Relations. The ascent to power of Vladimir Putin may be seen as a challenge or a threat to the interests of some nations and international entities. It may affect Russia's interactions with other countries, including economic cooperation, diplomacy, and security policy.

Civil society's reaction to the constitutional amendments

Responses from Russia's civil society members to recent revisions to the country's Constitution have been diverse, depending on the population in question. Civil society organizations, including human rights organizations and political opposition parties, opposed the amendment because it would grant Putin excessive power and undermine democratic values. Those who support Vladimir Putin reacted positively to the modification to the Constitution since it was as a vital move to build the country and get past the challenges presented by the political system in Russia. In the

meantime, other social groups applauded the amendment. Protests against the proposed revisions to the Constitution have been staged by various community organizations, such as the demonstrations in Moscow in 2020 and attended by students and activists. On the other hand, the Russian government responded to the demonstrations by carrying out a crackdown and arresting some people (RFE/RL, 2020).

Protests and demonstrations have occurred in numerous regions of Russia as a reaction to the revisions made to the Constitution. Members of civil society are organizing protests against the modifications, and those individuals are also using social media, street marches, and support drives to express their ideas

Civil society's responses to proposed constitutional amendments in Russia can be categorized in various ways, and these classifications are highly variable depending on a wide range of criteria, including political history, views, and perceptions of the proposed changes. The following are some potential responses that could take place (Puddington, 2020).

First: Support for the Amendment. The consolidation of power and the maintenance of political stability in their countries may need constitutional revisions, which some members of civil society may view as a necessary step. They could interpret the reforms as making Russia more substantial and ensuring reliable leadership.

Second: Criticism of Political Limitations. Civil society organizations and activists may join in voicing their opposition to the proposed constitutional modifications because they restrict political space and stifle resistance. They can express their concerns about human rights violations, the absence of political plurality, and the limited opportunities for democratic and fair political involvement.

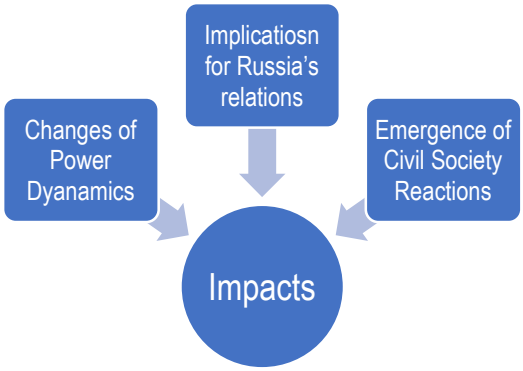
Third: Dissatisfaction with the Amendment Process. There is a possibility that specific subsets of civil society will feel unsatisfied with the process of amending the Constitution itself. They can bring attention to the fact that there was insufficient public participation, a lack of openness, or the process was allegedly manipulated. They may view the revisions as actions performed without considering the goals and desires of the general population as a whole.

Fourth: Action and Protest. To demonstrate the displeasure with the changes made to the Constitution, those sectors of civil society opposed to the modifications can engage in direct action and demonstrations. It could include protests, online campaigns, or other initiatives to criticize and oppose constitutional changes.

The survey findings indicate that most Russians favor amending the Constitution in 2020. According to a study in February 2020 by the independent media agency Levada Center, over 48% of respondents supported the revisions, while just 14% opposed them. The others, about 38%, reported that they had yet to decide (Trenin, 2020b). Nevertheless, critics have been in the process of changing the Constitution, including observers and human rights advocates. These criticisms have been leveled concerning the propaganda effort and the intimidation of political opponents. Critics have also expressed concern about

several contentious policy shifts, including introducing term limits for the presidency and legal safeguards for former leaders of Russia. As a consequence of this, some communities are opposed to the change. Nevertheless, in July 2020, the constitutional revisions were finally approved, despite the criticism and opposition they faced, and they have been in effect since August 2020

Figure 1. The Impacts of Putin's Political Communication Force



Source: Research Finding

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the research conducted on the Amendments to the Russian Constitution as Putin's Political Communication Power, it is possible to conclude that Putin makes good use of political communication tactics to influence public opinion and enhance his position. Putin's political communication strategy comprises various components, including his authoritarian and charismatic communication style, effective use of media and communication channels, Utilization of propaganda, manipulation of information, and dynamic approach. In the context of proposed changes to the Russian Constitution, this study underlines the importance of a solid grasp of political communication's power. As a result, Putin can construct a narrative that bolsters his position within the Russian political system and supports constitutional modifications if he employs a practical, well-coordinated media strategy. Research indicates, however, that Putin's political communication strategy has been the subject of debate and criticism. Concerns have been raised over the media's control and manipulation of information and the prevalence of messages that benefit the administration. The reactions of members of civil society to the revisions to the Constitution likewise differed, with some supporting them and others rejecting the repercussions for Russian politics and the country's relationships with foreign nations.

Putin's status as Russia's leader was bolstered due to the content of the constitutional modifications, which included boosting presidential powers and extending the term limits for the presidency. Both of these changes gave Putin additional authority over the country. Nevertheless, the strategic choices that Vladimir Putin makes for Russia regarding the country's foreign and defense policy have the potential to affect Russia's ties with other nations. In addition, revisions to the Constitution have the potential to provoke responses from members of civil society, such as demonstrations and criticism of political choices made by the government. The changes made the Russian Constitution understood as a component of the political strategy that Vladimir Putin employs to ensure his position as the leader of Russia. However, it is necessary for political watchers to closely monitor and assess this

amendment's impact and ramifications to avoid any unintended consequences.

The further researchers should carry out the additional research to obtain deeper knowledge about the political communication approach used by Putin in revising the constitution. A more in-depth investigation of political discourse, media consumption and propaganda strategies used can be included in this study. In addition, there is a need to push for tighter oversight of the constitutional amendment process and political activity in Russia in general. Ensure transparency in the political process and monitor potential abuse of power.

There is also a need for encouragement and support from advocacy groups for human rights and civil society in Russia to protect freedom of expression, the right to opinion, and free political participation. Moreover, efforts are needed to increase public awareness by educating the public about the importance of political participation, understanding of the Constitution, and the impact of constitutional amendments on their lives. Encourage open dialogue and critical discussion on political and constitutional issues.

These recommendations are intended to improve understanding of the Russian Constitution amendment process. Additionally, they aim to advance democratic ideals, the right to free speech, and the principles of justice in the country's political system.

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Fenomena Unggahan Foto Makanan Pengguna Instagram di Yogyakarta dan Kelantan

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Abstrak

Fenomena mengunggah foto makanan menjadi salah satu kebiasaan baru yang hadir dalam dunia media sosial. Para kreator yang mengunggah foto makanan itu, memiliki tujuan dan menyampaikan pesan melalui foto makanan. Tujuan dari riset ini adalah memahami tingkah laku pengguna Instagram serta tujuan yang ingin dicapai saat mengunggah foto makanan di Instagram. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah fenomenologi, dengan informan pengguna Instagram di Yogyakarta, Indonesia dan Kelantan, Malaysia dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Hasil yang didapatkan dari riset ini adalah bahwa Khalda, seorang pengguna Instagram di Yogyakarta, Indonesia memiliki tujuan utama untuk berbagi dan untuk dikenal sebagai *food vlogger* dalam proses unggahan foto makanan. Sedangkan Zyed, pengguna dari Kelantan, Malaysia memiliki tujuan yang sama yakni berbagi foto makanan, namun menggunakan media sebagai alat berekspresi. Kedua pengguna ini memiliki kesamaan yaitu ingin mengunggah foto makanan terbaik versi mereka, tanpa ada harapan untuk mendapatkan *likes* atau komentar pada unggahan itu. Selain itu, dalam berbagi, tidak ada perpektif pesan ataupun ideologi yang ingin disertakan dalam unggahan makanan oleh kedua narasumber. Kesimpulan dari riset ini menunjukkan bahwa pengalaman menggunakan Instagram dari kedua informan dibagi menjadi empat kategori yakni tujuan *posting*, jenis makanan, estetika foto dan tempat makan. Pengalaman dari kedua sampel ini menunjukkan bahwa Instagram menjadi media yang *Ocularcentrism* yang menempatkan mata menjadi pusat dari penggunaan media sosial.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Fenomenologi; Fotografi; Instagram; Makanan*

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Uploading Food Photos Phenomena on the Instagram Platform in Yogyakarta and Kelantan

Abstract

The phenomenon of uploading food photos is one of the new habits in the world of social media. The creators who upload the food photos have a purpose and convey a message through food photos. This research aims to understand the behavior of Instagram users and the goals to be achieved when uploading food photos on Instagram. The method used in this research is phenomenology, with informants using Instagram in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and Kelantan, Malaysia, with a qualitative approach. The results obtained from this research are that Khalda, an Instagram user in Yogyakarta, Indonesia has the main goal to share and to be known as a food vlogger in the process of uploading food photos. Meanwhile, Zyed, a user from Kelantan, Malaysia, has the same goal, namely sharing photos of food but using the media as a means of expression.

These two users have in common that they want to upload their best version of food photos without any hope of getting likes or comments on the upload. In addition, in sharing, there was no message or ideological perspective that the two sources wanted to include in the food uploads. The conclusion of this research shows that the experience of using Instagram from the two informants is divided into four categories: the purpose of posting, type of food, photo aesthetics, and places to eat. The experiences of these two samples show that Instagram is an Ocularcentrism medium that places the eye at the center of social media usage.

Keywords: *Phenomenology; Photography; Instagram; Food.*

PENDAHULUAN

Digital natives terhubung secara terus menerus dan membentuk jejaring tersendiri yang lepas dari struktur sosial yang sudah ada. *Digital natives* merujuk pada individu yang terbiasa dengan teknologi sosial digital dan lahir setelah tahun 1980. Mereka tumbuh dan berkembang dalam lingkungan yang saling terhubung melalui jejaring sosial dan kuat terampil menggunakan teknologi digital sebagai alat untuk berinteraksi antara individu.

Perkembangan *digital natives* dipengaruhi oleh penggunaan media sosial dalam kehidupan sehari-hari dan memiliki cara komunikasi yang unik dan berbeda. *Digital natives* memanfaatkan media sosial ini untuk berinteraksi dengan sesama, berbagi informasi, dan membangun hubungan sosial. Teknologi digital memfasilitasi interaksi dan komunikasi, sehingga mereka memanfaatkannya sebagai sarana utama untuk berhubungan dengan orang lain dan memperluas jejaring sosial mereka (Thomas, 2011; van Dijck, 2013).

Gawai merevolusi cara manusia berinteraksi, dengan menyediakan secara cepat cara berkomunikasi diantara kita. *Smartphone* merupakan salah satu penemuan yang paling penting dan popular abad ini, yang di dalamnya memuat banyak hal, salah satunya adalah media sosial. Berkat media sosial, semakin cepat dan mudah untuk menjalin ikatan dengan jutaan orang lain melalui sesuatu yang sederhana seperti mengirim foto atau berbagi lokasi.

Beberapa tahun terakhir, media sosial menjadi sebuah alat komunikasi yang makin berkembang sesuai dengan kebutuhan manusia. Dari sekian banyak media sosial yang digunakan saat ini, Instagram merupakan salah satu yang secara cepat menyita perhatian masyarakat. Secara mendadak, semua orang dengan mudah menggunakan gawai untuk sesuai kegemaran dan kebutuhan masing-masing.

Melalui gawai itu semua orang menggunakan media sosial. Chesner menyatakan bahwa media sosial yang diakses menggunakan *smartphone* bersifat secara individu, mengakibatkan segala sesuatu yang diambil menggunakan perangkat ini akan berhubungan langsung secara sudut pandang maupun pengalaman pengguna dalam kesehariannya (Chesher, 2012).

Salah satu media sosial yang populer saat ini adalah Instagram. Platform yang memungkinkan pengambilan foto menggunakan perangkat *mobile* menjadi kemudian aktivitas yang sering digunakan oleh pengguna media sosial. Seiring berkembangnya Instagram, penambahan filter, manipulasi foto serta berbagi kepada sesama pengguna Instagram dan seiring

itu mendapat respon *like* dan komentar menjadi hal yang sangat umum terjadi saat ini (Lee et al., 2015). Instagram sebagai *platform* berbasis foto seiring berjalannya waktu menjadikan bisnis makanan salah satu yang paling menonjol industri di media sosial.

Makanan merupakan salah satu komoditas paling populer dengan representasi yang lebih personal serta kejujuran dalam penyampaiannya pada platfrom Instagram, dibuktikan dengan unggahan foto makanan dengan *#food* mencapai angka 300 juta (Kusumasondjaja & Tjiptono, 2019).

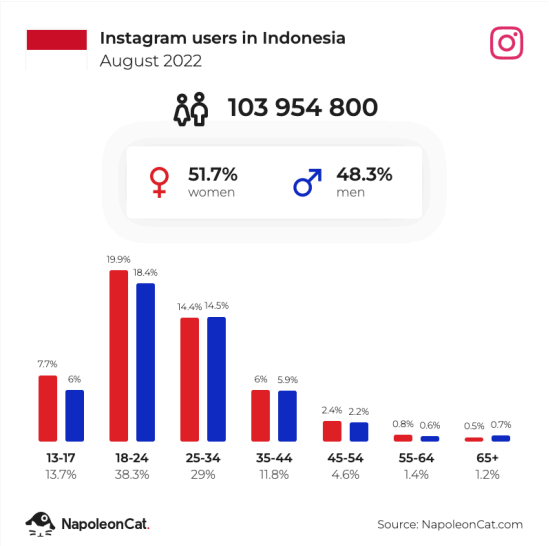
Popularitas Instagram merambah juga sampai ke Indonesia dan Malaysia. Kedua negara ini memiliki kultur yang mirip, sehingga asumsi awal yang muncul adalah pengguna Instagram-nya memiliki perilaku digital yang mirip. Perilaku digital masyarakat Indonesia ada dalam penelitian Nisak & Hariyanto (2017) dengan hasil bahwa Instagram paling banyak digunakan sebagai platform yang digunakan dalam mengunggah foto makanan dengan besaran 57%. Penggunaan Instagram ini paling banyak digunakan karena tidak hanya foto yang diakomodir namun juga video. Penelitian lain yang dilakukan oleh Khalid et al., (2018) menyatakan jika Instagram juga merupakan media yang paling banyak digunakan influencers dalam mengunggah foto makanan. Berdasarkan 5 sampel influencers terkenal di Malaysia, hal yang paling sering diunggah adalah makanan serta situasi kafe tempat makan. Hasil dari penelitian ini bahwa penggunaan Instagram dengan objek foto makanan sangat mempengaruhi Gen Y Malaysia serta mendapatkan *social approval* dari followers mereka.

Tren dunia makanan digital yang umumnya dilakukan oleh kalangan remaja dapat mencerminkan nilai-nilai sosial dan budaya yang ada, mengingat pentingnya peran makanan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Oleh karena itu, penting untuk mempertimbangkan aspek sosial dari praktik makanan sebagai bagian dari kesejahteraan dan kesehatan remaja tersebut. Untuk mendapatkan pemahaman yang lebih mendalam tentang makna makanan bagi remaja, diperlukan analisis terhadap komunikasi mereka mengenai makanan, terutama dalam konteks penggunaan media.

Dalam konteks ini, penggunaan media sosial dan platform digital memainkan peran sentral dalam membentuk cara remaja berkomunikasi tentang makanan. Remaja dapat berbagi pengalaman makanan, merekam momen kuliner, dan menyampaikan preferensi makanan mereka kepada orang lain. Dengan menganalisis komunikasi mereka dalam menggunakan media tersebut, kita dapat memperoleh wawasan yang lebih dalam mengenai makna dan nilai yang terkait dengan makanan dalam kehidupan remaja masa kini (Neely et al., 2014; Roper & La Niece, 2009).

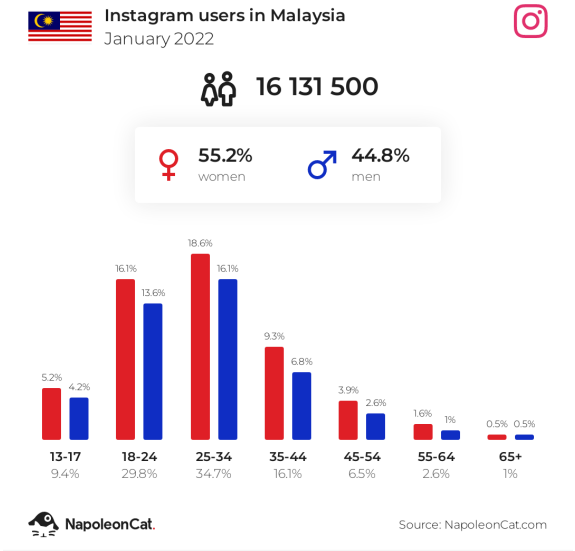
Urgensi riset ini yakni berupaya untuk memahami pengalaman remaja dalam menggunakan Instagram khususnya konteks foto makanan. Remaja sebagai *digital natives* terbanyak dirasa paling relevan digunakan untuk mengetahui fenomena yang menjadi keseharian mereka.

Gambar 1. Pengguna Instagram di Indonesia



Sumber : NapoleonCat.com (2022)

Gambar 2. Pengguna Instagram di Malaysia



Sumber : (NapoleonCat.com, 2022a)

Objek penelitian adalah pengguna Instagram dengan usia 18-24 tahun yang berdomisili di Yogyakarta dan Kelantan. Pemilihan Yogyakarta dan Kelantan sebagai sampel dalam riset ini didasari karena kedua wilayah ini merupakan daerah yang kental dengan budaya, serta dikenal memiliki makanan yang enak. Pemilihan usia rentang usia ini didasari oleh data dari NapoleonCat.com yang sebagai pemakai terbanyak di Indonesia.

Namun berdasarkan data dari NapoleonCat.com pengguna Instagram di Malaysia paling banyak pada rentang 25-34, namun yang akan dipilih adalah rentang 18-25 yang ada di peringkat kedua, untuk memberikan gambaran yang seimbang antara pengguna di Yogyakarta dan Kelantan dan diharapkan memberikan gambaran terbaik ketika memotret kebiasaan dalam unggahan foto makanan. Pemilihan Yogyakarta dan Kelantan didasarkan karena kedua kota ini merupakan representasi kota budaya di negera masing-masing, sehingga dimensi budaya akan lebih terlihat nantinya di hasil penelitian.

Beragam jenis makanan dapat dengan mudah difoto kemudian dibagikan kepada orang-orang yang berada pada lingkar media sosial, dan dengan seketika pula dapat memberikan respon secara cepat setelah foto makanan itu tersebar. Prihartanta menyatakan bahwa motif merupakan dorongan untuk melakukan sesuatu (berbuat), tidak berdiri sendiri namun berkait dengan dorongan eksternal serta internal. Segala sesuatu yang mempengaruhi motif disebut dengan motivasi (Prihartanta, 2015).

Posisi penelitian ini akan memotret tujuan pengguna dalam unggahan foto makanan di Instagram. apa yang didapatkan dari aktivitas tersebut, juga mendapatkan perbandingan antara pengguna Yogyakarta dan Kelantan.

Pertanyaan penelitian yang yang akan diangkat adalah bagaimana pengalaman

pengguna Instagram yang melakukan *posting* makanan dalam akun mereka, Apakah ada kategori dalam mengunggah foto makanan dalam akun mereka? Serta dengan perbedaan negara antara kedua informan, akan dilihat bagaimana penggunaan media khususnya Instagram oleh rentang usia remaja.

KAJIAN PUSTAKA

Beberapa penelitan sebelumnya menunjukkan studi tentang berbagi foto makanan pada platform Instagram. Salah satu yang paling menginspirasi artikel ini adalah penelitian dari Herman (2017) yang mencoba mengkaji representasi makanan di Instagram dalam perspektif Semiotika. Riset ini menghasilkan jika makanan menghasilkan pergeseran ke arah nilai baru seperti representasi diri, komunikasi kelompok, dan komodifikasi.

Studi kedua tentang makanan di media sosial dapat berkontribusi dalam literasi. Kemampuan media sosial untuk berbagi secara cepat, dapat menjadi salah satu media kampanye untuk memperbaiki literasi khususnya tentang makanan, serta dapat menjadi katalis bagi pembuat kebijakan makanan dalam meingkatkan kualitas literasi (Steils & Obaidalahe, 2020).

Studi ketiga mengamati fenomena *food porn* di Snapchat dan Instagram dengan responden mahasiswa perguruan tinggi menghasilkan bahwa makanan memiliki peran yang tinggi seiring meningkatnya pemakaian media sosial di kalangan mahasiswa. Dalam riset ini ditemukan beberapa motif dalam unggahan foto makanan seperti representasi/ aktualisasi diri, kemudian sebagai sarana komunikasi kepada keluarga maupun kolega dengan menanamkan kepedulian, estetika, dan kesenangan yang merupakan keintiman dalam ritual komunikasi ini. Motif ketiga yakni akuntabilitas atau kepercayaan terhadap unggahan, dan hedonisme menjadi motif paling akhir dari riset ini (Abril et al., 2022).

Riset keempat membahas tentang eksplorasi bagaimana remaja mengomunikasikan gambar makanan di media sosial. Riset ini menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif dengan metode konten analisis. Riset menghasilkan jika remaja lebih senang menunggah makanan tinggi kalori, rendah nutrisi. Melakukan *zooming* ketika memotret buah dan sayur. Serta beberapa akun memperhatikan tentang makanan sehat dalam unggahan pada akun-nya (Holmberg et al., 2016).

Riset kelima membahas studi tentang bagaimana millennials mengkonsumsi Instagram. 17 pengguna Instagram di Seoul menjadi responden menghasilkan kebiasaan baru dalam menggunakan media sosial. Memotret di *coffee bar* dibandingkan datang untuk minum kopi. Dalam riset ini millenials mementingkan istilah *Instagrammable* sebagai syarat mendatangi café. Pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus digunakan dalam riset ini (Chang & Spierings, 2023).

Dengan beberapa *literature review* ini, dapat diambil asumsi sementara jika fenomena unggahan foto makanan di Instagram masih belum menjadi topik yang digemari oleh para peneliti sebelumnya, dengan lebih banyak membahas tentang representasi foto makanan

Fenomenologi dipilih dalam riset ini untuk menjadi metode sebagai cara

mengetahui pengalaman partisipan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Riset yang membahas secara khusus tentang foto makanan sejauh ini belum ditemukan, sehingga ini menjadi salah satu gap yang mungkin dapat dimasuki untuk artikel ini. Selain itu, sejauh ini belum ditemukan adanya *riset visual culture* yang secara khusus memotret relasi Yogyakarta, Indonesia dan Kelantan, Malaysia terkait dengan jejaring foto makanan dalam Instagram. Artikel berupaya ini berposisi sebagai pemantik dalam menemukan relasi tersebut.

METODE PENELITIAN

Metode penelitian pada naskah artikel menjelaskan jenis penelitian, subjek dan objek penelitian, waktu dan lokasi penelitian, instrumen penelitian, cara pengambilan sampel, pengumpulan data, dan analisis data. Termasuk didalamnya gambaran langkah-langkah yang dilakukan dalam penelitian.

Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kualitatif. Meski banyak memilki pemahaman, pendekatan kualitatif memiliki beberapa karakteristik yang dapat diidentifikasi. Pendekatan kualitatif selalu menuju kepada konstruksi realitas sosial atau arti sebuah budaya. Peneliti berbaur dengan objek penelitian, dan melihat hanya kasus saja secara mendalam, dengan faktor kunci yakni otentik (Neuman, 2014).

Metode fenomenologi dipilih dengan alasan relevan untuk menyampaikan bagaimana partisipan mengalami pengalaman hidup mereka. Fenomenologi bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan dan menginterpretasikan fenomena dan memotret pengalaman dari partisiapan. Berdasarkan jenis metode fenomenologi, riset ini dikategorikan dalam fenomenologi deskriptif, yang mengacu pada pengalaman pribadi yang kemudian dideskripsikan atau diinterpretasi berdasarkan pengalaman yang dialami oleh partisipan (Padilla-Díaz, 2015; Zaeske et al., 2022).

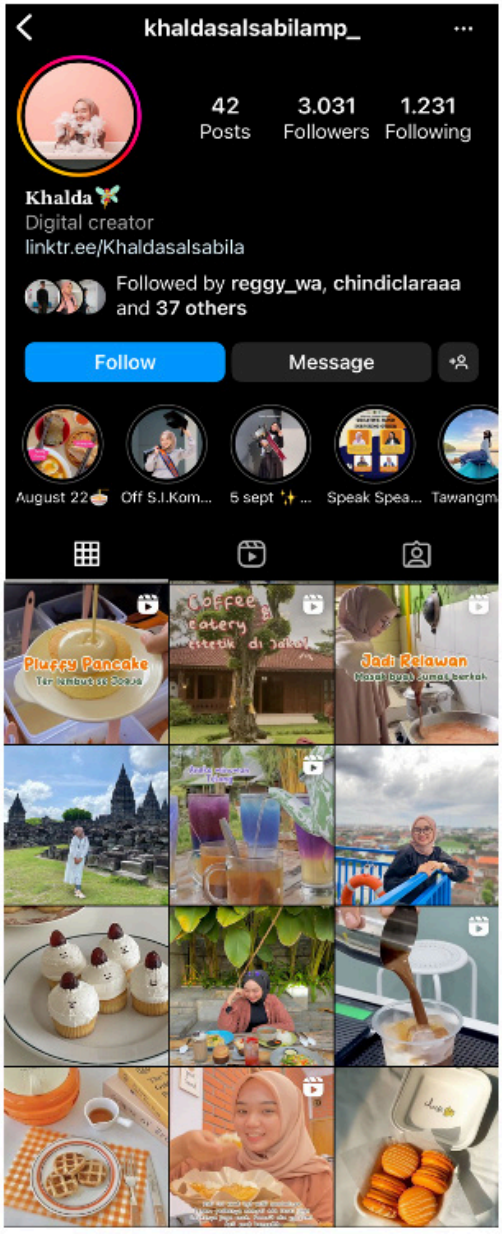
Fenomena unggahan foto makanan di platform Riset berfokus pada pengalaman pengguna di Yogyakarta dan Kelatan dalam menggunakan Instagram dalam konteks unggahan foto makanan.

Teknik pengumpulan data dimulai Observasi dilakukan sebagai Langkah awal pengumpulan data, dengan memilih responden dengan kriteria 18-24 tahun, memiliki akun Instagram, dan memiliki unggahan foto makanan minimal 10 dalam 6 bulan terakhir. Narasumber berasal dari Yogyakarta bernama Khalda Salsabila Maizar Putri, seorang *content creator* yang berdomisili di Yogyakarta dan Zyed mahasiswa desain grafis, Universitas Teknologi MARA, Malaysia yang berdomisili di Kelantan. Kedua narasumber ini. Kemudian dilakukan dokumentasi identitas pengguna Instagram ini serta unggahan foto makanan yang pernah diuploadnya. Wawancara mendalam dilakukan untuk mendapatkan info yang seakurat mungkin dari responden. Wawancara mendalam dilakukan secara semi terstruktur, dengan maksud peneliti memiliki *interview guide* sebagai panduan dasar, namun tidak menutup kemungkinan untuk mengajukan pertanyaan seiring dengan berkembangnya wawancara. Studi pustaka dilakukan dengan mencari buku, jurnal internasional, artikel daring, disertasi dan dokumen lain yang berkaitan dengan metode fenomenologi dan *food studies.*

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Riset ini diawali dengan melakukan wawancara dengan dua narasumber. Narasumber pertama adalah Khalda Salsabila Maizar Putri yang berusia 22 tahun, dengan domisili di Yogyakarta. Lulusan program studi Ilmu Komunikasi salah satu Universitas di Yogyakarta.

Gambar 1. *Screenshot* profile Narasumber1



Sumber : Instagram @khaldasalsabilamp_

Akun Instagram Khalda Salsabila Maizar Putri ditemukan lebih dari 10 unggahan foto baik yang ada di *feed* maupun *highlight*. Saat ini, Khalda bekerja sebagai salah di salah satu perusahaan F&B juga sekaligus sebagai *content creator* personal. Khalda sudah menggunakan Instagram sejak tahun 2017, dengan pilihan konten yang disukai seperti makanan, fashion, *lifestyle* dan *make-up*. Pemakaian Instagram menurut hasil wawancara menggunakan Instagram kurang dari 8 jam, dikarenakan media Instagram digunakan sebagai media posting saja yang biasanya dilakukan di pagi hari sebelum bekerja dan malam hari setelah bekerja. Khalda terbiasa menggunakan Instagram sebagai salah satu media awal untuk memposting foto makanan. Khalda memandang jika dia datang ke sebuah tempat makan, maka makanan adalah objek pertama yang akan diposting dalam akun Instagramnya. Selanjutnya tempat makan yang menarik menjadi alasan kedua untuk diunggah dalam akun Instagram.

Kriteria utama yang dipilih sebelum memutuskan menguggah foto makanan adalah visual makanan yang menarik, apalagi makanan tersebut baru pertama kali dicoba oleh Khalda. Keunikan makanan, belum pernah dicoba serta makanan yang sedang viral menjadi alasan selanjutnya sebagai kriteria untuk mengunggah foto makanan.

Khalda juga melakukan *treatment* terhadap makanan sebelum mengunggah foto makanan yang dipilihnya. *Angle*, susunan makanan dan *lighting* (membawa *lighting* khusus atau flash HP) menjadi faktor utama dalam *treatment* yang dilakukan, setelah itu dilakukan editing sederhana

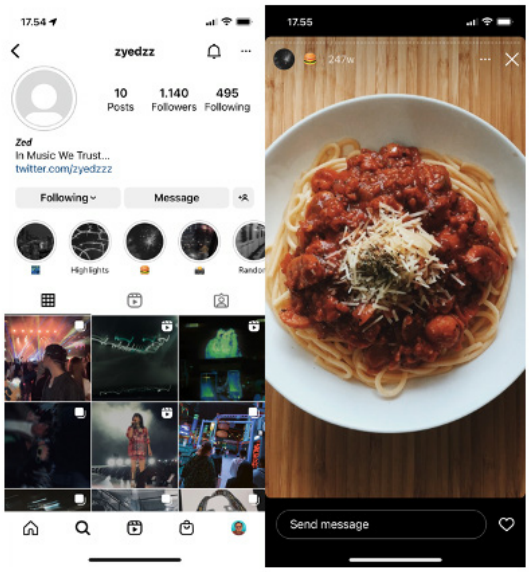
seperti *cropping* yang disesuaikan dengan ukuran 9:16 agar sesuai dengan ukuran *smartphone* standart. Kemudian editing koreksi *exposure* dilakukan sehingga makanan menjadi lebih menggiurkan jika nanti dilihat oleh penontonnya. Ketika melakukan pemotretan, Khalda juga memotret kurang lebih 10 foto, yang kemudian memilih yang terbaik diantara hasil yang didapat untuk akhirnya diunggah dalam akun Instagram-nya.

Khalda memiliki tujuan yang beragam dalam unggahan foto makanan di Instagram-nya. Tujuan yang paling dominan yang diungkapkan oleh Khalda adalah berbagi info tentang makanan untuk para followers-nya. Khalda juga beberapa kali membalas pertanyaan-pertanyaan dari pengikut-nya tentang foto makanan seperti "apakah makanan itu enak, kak?" atau "dimana itu tempatnya, kak?" sebagai salah satu cara berinteraksi. Alasan utama Khalda dalam berbagi foto makanan ternyata sebagai wujud promosi diri. Khalda menyatakan jika ingin dikenal sebagai *food vlogger* dengan seringnya unggahan foto makanan yang selama ini ia lakukan. Selain itu dalam beberapa postingan makanan, Khalda menyatakan jika ada faktor endorsement dalam postingan makanan, sehingga ia dibayar dalam melakukan *posting* foto makanan.

Khalda mengungkapkan pemakaian Instagram sebagai salah satu cara untuk meningkatkan pengetahuan karena dalam setiap makanan yang akan diunggah, akan dilakukan mini riset dahulu sehingga mendapatkan data awal dengan cara melihat apa yang sedang viral saat ini. Selain itu, Khalda menggunakan Instagram sebagai sarana berbagi dengan orang lain, serta pada saat yang bersamaan, merasakan kesenangan dalam tiap postingan makanan yang dibuatnya. Khalda mengungkapkan lebih sering menonton unggahan diri sendiri dibanding unggahan orang lain, yang menurutnya merupakan kepuasan tersendiri, tanpa memandang *likes* atau komentar pada unggahan-nya.

Narasumber kedua dalam wawancara ini bernama Zyed Hamidi bin Zainal Abidin yang berusia 21 tahun, dengan domisili di Kelantan, Malaysia. Zyed saat ini masih berstatus sebagai mahasiswa Program Sarjana dengan minat Desain Grafis di University Technology MARA, Cawangan Kelantan, Malaysia.

Gambar 2. *Screenshot* profile Narasumber 2



Sumber : Instagram @zyedzz

Narasumber kedua mulai menggunakan Instagram sejak mulai 2014, dan mengaku lebih senang dengan kultur Instagram yang sebelumnya dibandingkan dengan sekarang, dikarenakan fokus aplikasinya terhadap foto saja. Sedangkan

saat ini, Instagram terpengaruh media lain yang menggunakan video yang disebut *reels* yang mengadopsi dari TikTok. Konsumsi dari narasumber kedua dalam penggunaan Instagram kurang dari 8 jam perhari, karena hanya membukanya ketika hanya ada waktu dan khususnya ketika waktu libur. Konten yang disukai oleh Zyed adalah tentang tutorial desain grafis dan resep makanan serta cara membuat makanan.

Zyed hanya mengunggah foto makanan di platform Instagram saja, meskipun memiliki akun lain di Twitter dan TikTok. Tidak berbeda dengan narasumber pertama, narasumber kedua mengungkapkan jika makanan menjadi hal yang paling utama untuk diposting ketika mendatangi sebuah tempat makan. Zyed tidak selalu menerapkan aplikasi filter dalam unggahan foto makanan. Ia lebih dominan menggunakan hasil foto yang asli diambil menggunakan kamera *smartphone* yang dimiliki. Menurutnya filter dibutuhkan jika dirasa makanan yang difoto kurang menggiurkan, dan memerlukan olah digital. Filter yang digunakannya hanya filter *Oslo* dengan alasan tidak merusak ketajaman foto dibandingkan dengan filter lain. Zyed lebih condong dalam memilih makanan yang tersaji secara cantik, *background* yang estetik tanpa perduli tempat mahal ataupun murah. Namun, narasumber kedua memiliki *preference* untuk memotret makanan kafe, *homemade cooking* serta *street food*, yang jika dirasa menarik secara visual maka akan masuk ke dalam Instagram-nya.

Zyed sebagai mahasiswa desain grafis sangat mengerti tentang pemahaman komposisi, pencahayaan serta tata artistik. Sebelum mengupload makanan, ia memotret di kisaran 10-20 foto dengan menggunakan kamera bawaan *smartphone* dan kamera dari Instagram. Pilihan sudut bidik juga dari atas makanan. Setelah itu, yang dilakukan adalah membandingkan terlebih dahulu mana yang lebih baik dalam menangkap gambar, baru kemudian pilihan terbaik itulah yang akan diunggah dalam Instagram. Penggunaan dua kamera ini karena Zyed ingin melihat mana yang lebih *sharp* dari kedua kamera ini. Zyed selalu memastikan komposisi yang ada dalam hasil fotonya merupakan yang terbaik, sehingga diperlukan sekian banyak percobaan baik dari segi komposisi, pencahayaan dan tata letak sebelum akhirnya diunggah. Dalam tiap unggahan makanan, ia tidak pernah memperdulikan seberapa banyak *likes* dan komentar yang merespon unggahan foto makanannya. *Likes* dan komentar tidak berpengaruh apa-apa meski tidak mendapatkan respon ataupun mendapatkan respon yang banyak. Zyed selalu berfokus pada unggahan foto makanan yang estetik dan menarik untuk menjadi kriteria utama.

Melihat dari tujuan utama Zyed melakukan unggahan foto makanan, yang paling menjadi alasan adalah keinginan diri untuk berbagi, namun dengan tidak hanya sekadar berbagi tapi juga pada saat yang bersamaan mengekspresikan diri dalam tiap unggahan foto makanan. Zyed tidak memiliki tujuan untuk berinteraksi di media sosial, ingin dikenal sebagai *food photographer,* serta juga tidak ingin *flexing* terhadap lingkar yang ada di sekitarnya. Keinginan yang menjadi latar belakang unggahan foto makanan, hanya untuk berbagi dan menyenangkan diri dalam

berekspresi. Unggahan foto makanan dari Zyed tidak memiliki pesan khusus yang ingin ditujukan kepada masyarakat, karena Zyed menganggap jika pengikutnya memiliki literasi tentang makanan apa yang diunggah.

Berdasarkan wawancara yang sudah dilakukan kepada kedua narasumber, didapatkan analisis antara lain: Khalda memiliki tujuan untuk berbagi dengan pengikutnya, untuk memberikan informasi tentang tempat makan yang menarik, belum pernah ia kunjungi dan makanan yang menurutnya viral. Sedangkan Zyed memilih berekspresi menggunakan Instagram yang tergambar dalam tiap unggahan fotonya lebih mengedepankan faktor estetis, komposisi, pencahayaan yang sesuai dengan kehidupan sehari-harinya sebagai desainer. Khalda dan Zyed memiliki perbedaan tujuan yang dipengaruhi oleh kesibukan masing-masing.

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara dapat ditarik kesimpulan jika Khalda dalam memakai media mengedepankan berbagi informasi tentang makanan kepada pengikut-nya. Khalda memiliki keinginan untuk dikenal sebagai seorang *food vlogger* yang mana saat ini menuntut untuk selalu memberikan informasi terkini tentang makanan yang sedang viral ataupun unik. Review yang diberikan oleh *food vlogger,* sedikit banyak akan mempengaruhi minat untuk membeli, sehingga pembagian informasi akan sangat menguntungkan bagi bisnis yang sedang di review serta bagi *food vlogger* itu sendiri (Puspita & Hendrayati, 2020).

Berdasarkan kategori makanan, Khalda dan Zyed tidak memiliki pilihan khusus untuk diunggah dalam akun Instagram mereka. Mereka menyatakan jika selama makanan yang tersaji menarik secara visual, dan kemudian dapat ditata ke dalam tata letak yang disukai, maka mereka akan mengunggah foto dari makanan tersebut pada platform Instagram. Menurut pengalaman keduanya, jenis makanan tidak pernah mempengaruhi apakah foto akan diunggah atau tidak, yang menjadi pertimbangan adalah visual makanan yang menarik. Visual makanan menjadi pusat perhatian dari pengalaman kedua informan.

Berdasarkan cita rasa estetik foto, kedua narasumber memiliki kepekaan dalam membuat foto terbaik. Khalda dalam setiap proses foto, selalu melakukan 10 kali percobaan yang merupakan sebuah usaha untuk mendapatkan *angle* terbaik. Selain itu, Khalda juga menyadari adanya pengolahan cahaya sehingga foto menjadi lebih terlihat *vibrance,* dan tidak lupa melakukan *cropping* sehingga sesuai dengan ukuran platform Instagram. Bahkan ada kalanya Khalda membawa *lighting* sendiri yang tentunya bertujuan untuk menghasilkan gambar yang lebih tajam dan menarik. Zyed secara estetik, lebih memperhatikan komposisi dipengaruhi kehidupannya sebagai desainer. Komposisi yang menarik menjadi harga mati dalam tiap unggahan foto makanan Zyed. Ia mengungkapkan paling sering memotret dari *high angle* yang memiliki indikasi jika ingin menunjukkan makanan secara utuh, dan sesuai dengan sudut pandang manusia ketika makan. Kedua narasumber memiliki cita rasa estetis dengan pendekatan visual masing-masing yang bertujuan mendapatkan hasil foto terbaik.

Berdasarkan kategori tempat, Khalda tidak pernah memiliki kriteria tempat khusus untuk masuk dalam unggahan foto makanan. Khalda biasa datang ke café, resto, atau bahkan *street food* di mana semua tempat tersebut memiliki makanan yang unik, belum pernah dicoba serta sedang viral. Sedangkan Zyed mengatakan jika *lighting* menjadi salah satu faktor yang mempengaruhi estetika makanan sebelum ia unggah. Artinya sebuah tempat mungkin saja terlihat biasa, namun memiliki tata cahaya yang cantik untuk mendukung terjadinya *food photography* seperti yang Zyed lakukan sebelum memotret makanannya.

Sangat dimungkinkan era bisnis makanan saat ini mulai memperhatikan tentang penataan tempat, tata lampu, furnitur bahkan tidak jarang menyajikan interior secara *open kitchen* yang semuanya itu bertujuan untuk menarik pengunjung. Hasil unggahan kedua setelah foto makanan dari pelanggan yang datang (Chang & Spierings, 2023)

Zyed pada sisi lain, menggunakan Instagram sebagai media ekspresi melalui unggahan foto makanan. Ia tidak terpengaruh *likes* dan komentar yang dilontarkan kepada unggahan-nya, karena percaya jika karyanya sudah estetik secara visual, dan para pengikut-nya hanya akan melihat sekilas dan pergi dalam waktu singkat. Dalam tiap unggahannya, Zyed selalu mempertimbangkan komposisi, pencahayaan dan tata letak yang berpengaruh pada kualitas estetik hasil akhir foto yang akan diunggah. Zyed menggunaan Instagram sebagai media ekspresi, yang dimaksudkan penggunaan media sebagai cara untuk bersenang-senang tanpa perlu memikirkan respon orang lain serta bebas mengekspresikan diri lewat foto makanan.

Fenomena ini sangat banyak ditemui yang lazim disebut dengan *social photography*, di mana orang yang melihat sebuah foto dapat merasakan perspektif fotografer secara lebih dekat dan personal. Teknologi media sosial memberikan dampak dan mengkontruksi realitas baru ini yang tidak didapatkan pada era fotografi sebelumnya. Hal ini juga menyiratkan jika telah terjadi dua hal, yakni genre potret yang dimediasi dan kehidupan sosial yang dimediasi telah muncul dalam platform media sosial (Zappavigna, 2016).

Selain itu, pengguna Instagram dapat memberikan data dan penilaian terhadap media yang mereka gunakan. Pengguna Indonesia lebih condong kepada ranah berbagi informasi yang sekaligus ingin membuat *self-branding*, sedangkan pengguna dari Malaysia lebih mementingkan kepuasan diri tanpa memperdulikan opini orang lain dalam pemakaian Instagram.

Kedua informan, sangat memperhatikan estetika dalam pengambilan foto, baik dari *lighting* maupun komposisi. Rentang usia keduanya yang masih pada kategori remaja menggambarkan pentingnya visual bagi remaja dalam unggahan pada media sosial mereka. Remaja sangat memperhatikan visual dibanding hal lain seperti teks pada caption, *likes* ataupun komentar memberikan asumsi jika Instagram sebagai media yang *Ocularcentrism*. Mata menjadi pusat dari indera manusia, menjadikan representasi visual menjadi hal penting dalam penggunaan media sosial (Chmielecki, 2021).

Pengalaman kedua informan ini memberikan sedikit gambaran dalam dunia makanan khususnya dalam konteks penggunaan Instagram. Melalui makanan, saat ini teknologi dan budaya dapat disatukan dalam sebuah struktur sosial (Feldman & Goodman, 2021). Unggahan foto makanan memiliki struktur bahasa yang kekinian yang dikomunikasikan secara lebih personal dan pada saat yang bersamaan membuat sebuah identitas digital baru berdasarkan apa yang disajikan oleh pengguna Instagram.

KESIMPULAN

Kesimpulan dari riset ini adalah partisipan memiliki setidaknya empat kategori yang dalam unggahan foto makanan berdasarkan pengalaman mereka. Kategori tersebut dibagi menjadi tujuan *posting*, jenis makanan, estetika foto dan tempat. Kedua informan memiliki tujuan yang berbeda yakni berbagi informasi yang berefek pada *self-branding* dan menjadikan Instagram sebagai media ekspresi. Berdasarkan makanan, informan berbagi pengalaman jika mereka tidak memilih jenis makanan yang masuk dalam akun Instagram mereka. Kategori ketiga yakni dalam aspek pengambilan foto. Dari pengalaman kedua informan memandang estetika foto sebagai hal yang penting sebelum diunggah. *Angle, lighting, editing* dan tata letak menjadi hal krusial dalam foto makanan, sehingga sebelum *posting* informan memastikan jika secara visual sudah menarik.

Aspek terakhir dari pengalaman kedua informan yakni adalah tempat makan. Keduanya tidak terlalu memperdulikan di mana foto makanan itu diambil selama dapat menyajikan makanan yang menarik secara visual.

Secara keseluruhan pengalaman kedua informan, remaja memiliki kecenderungan untuk memperhatikan visual dibanding teks atau *likes.* Asumsi dari pengalaman tersebut adalah media sosial saat ini berpusat kepada mata sebagai representasi utama.

Dari riset ini, saran untuk peneliti selanjutnya adalah untuk menambah jumlah responden sehingga akan didapat data yang lebih komprehensif dan lebih memetakan penggunaan media khususnya Instagram di kedua negara. Selain itu, pada unggahan foto makanan pasti memiliki aspek estetik yang salah satunya dapat dikaji secara semiotik yang masih dalam ranah komunikasi dan *media studies*.

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Fenomena Phubbing Pada Pola Komunikasi Mahasiswa

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Abstrak

Secara sadar atau tidak, pesatnya perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi memicu timbulnya karakter baru dalam masyarakat. Salah satu karakter baru yang muncul di era teknologi ini yaitu *phubbing. Phubbing* berasal dari kata *"telephone"* dan *"snubbing"* yang dimaknai sebagai fenomena menghina seseorang karena terlalu memusatkan perhatian pada gawai. Penelitian terdahulu menunjukkan bahwa 80,2% mahasiswa pernah mengabaikan lawan bicara *(phubber)* dan 91,3% mengaku pernah diabaikan oleh lawan bicara *(phubbee)* karena penggunaan *smartphone* yang berlebihan. Efek yang ditimbulkan dari *phubbing* ini seperti menurunnya tingkat kepercayaan seseorang, ketidakharmonisan relasi interpersonal, bahkan hilangnya empati individu. Maka dari itu, penelitian ini hadir untuk menganalisis *phubbing* yang berpengaruh terhadap pola komunikasi mahasiswa dan menyajikan analisis mendalam berdasarkan perspektif teori determinisme teknologi. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini yaitu kualitatif deskriptif guna menganalisis fenomena *phubbing* secara deskriptif. Dalam menentukan subjek penelitian, peneliti menggunakan teknik *nonprobability purposive sampling* sehingga dipilihlah 6 informan yang sesuai untuk memberikan informasi mengenai *phubbing.* Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, didapatkan temuan yang menunjukkan bahwa *phubbing* dapat menggeser pola komunikasi mahasiswa akibat hadirnya media baru. Selain itu, inti dari faktor pemicu *phubbing* adalah hilangnya kontrol individu dalam mengoperasikan media baru. Dominasi masyarakat yang menganggap *phubbing* adalah hal lumrah mengarahkan sistem sosial tergerus akan arus determinisme teknologi. Perspektif teori determinisme teknologi semakin memperkuat analisis bahwa *phubbing* adalah tindakan nyata yang dilakukan manusia karena pertumbuhan teknologi. Temuan dalam penelitian ini diharapkan dapat menjadi sudut pandang baru dan menjadi solusi untuk masyarakat dalam menghadapi tantangan *phubbing* di era *society 5.0* ini.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Phubbing; Pola komunikasi; Teori determinisme teknologi*

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Phubbing Phenomena In Student Communication Patterns

Abstract

Consciously or not, the rapid development of information and communication technology triggers the emergence of a new character in society. One of the new characters that have emerged in this technological era is phubbing. Phubbing comes from the words "telephone" and "snubbing" which are interpreted as the phenomenon of insulting someone because they focus too much on gadgets. Previous research showed that 80.2% of students had ignored the other person (phubber) and 91.3% admitted that they had been ignored by the other person (phubbee) because of excessive smartphone use. The effects of phubbing include a decrease

in a person's level of trust, disharmony of interpersonal relationships, and even loss of individual empathy. Therefore, this study is present to analyze phubbing which influences student communication patterns and provides an in-depth analysis based on the perspective of technological determinism theory. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative to analyze phubbing phenomena descriptively. In determining the research subject, the researcher used a non-probability purposive sampling technique so that 6 appropriate informants were selected to provide information about phubbing. Based on the results of the research, findings showed that phubbing could shift student communication patterns due to the presence of new media. In addition, the core of phubbing triggers is the loss of individual control in operating new media. The domination of people who think that phubbing is commonplace directs the social system to be eroded by the flow of technological determinism. The perspective of technological determinism theory further strengthens the analysis that phubbing is a real action carried out by humans due to technological growth. It is hoped that the findings in this study can become a new perspective and a solution for the community in facing the phubbing challenges in the era of society 5.0.

Keywords: *Phubbing; Communication patterns; Technological determinism theory*

PENDAHULUAN

Era *society 5.0* yang ditandai dengan pesatnya inovasi teknologi informasi dan komunikasi (TIK) saat ini telah membawa dampak signifikan terhadap aspek relasi sosial masyarakat. Pola interaksi sosial yang semula terjalin secara harmonis saat ini mulai mengalami perubahan. Perubahan pola interaksi ini terjadi karena hadirnya berbagai macam instrumen teknologi yang mempermudah aktivitas manusia. Kemudahan ini mengakibatkan masyarakat menjadi terlena bahkan lupa akan kodratnya sebagai makhluk sosial.

Kemudahan yang ditawarkan di era *society 5.0* ini tercermin dari realita yang menunjukkan bahwa proses komunikasi saat ini sudah tidak dibatasi oleh jarak dan waktu. Tetapi, kemudahan ini tidak selamanya membawa hal baik untuk perkembangan kehidupan manusia. Menurut hasil penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Pratiwi et al., (2019) menunjukkan bahwa 92% mahasiswa menggunakan gadgetnya lebih dari 1 jam. Kebanyakan mahasiswa menggunakan gadget dalam waktu 5 sampai 10 jam setiap harinya. Bahkan terdapat 8,1% mahasiswa yang menghabiskan waktu dengan gadgetnya selama lebih dari 15 jam setiap hari (Pratiwi et al., 2019).

Kemudian, parahnya lagi dari hasil penelitian badan YouGov plc pada tahun 2012 memaparkan bahwa dari total 2.163 responden, sekira 53% pengguna gadget mengakui bahwa mereka mengalami kecemasan ketika jauh dari gadget mereka. Sebuah organisasi penelitian di Inggris juga menemukan bahwa hampir 53% pengguna gadget atau *smartphone* di Inggris cenderung mengalami kecemasan saat menghadapi kehabisan baterai, kekurangan jangkauan jaringan, dan kehilangan gadget mereka (Hafni, 2018). Dari fakta tersebut, dapat dianalisis bahwa pengaruh teknologi terutama media baru dalam *smartphone* telah memberi dampak signifikan terhadap kehidupan baik dari segi psikologis, kesehatan, ekonomi, maupun relasi sosial.

Masyarakat saat ini cenderung lebih suka menghabiskan waktu di depan layar gadgetnya daripada menjalin komunikasi dengan individu lainnya. Hal inilah yang memunculkan fenomena baru dalam

masyarakat yaitu *phubbing*. *Phubbing* adalah salah satu fenomena akibat kemajuan teknologi yang bisa merenggut pola komunikasi antarindividu. Fenomena ini kerap terjadi di lingkungan masyarakat baik secara sadar maupun tidak. Derasnya arus informasi dan kebutuhan individu di dunia maya yang menjadikan fenomena ini mengubah pola interaksi dalam masyarakat.

Dari segi bahasa, *phubbing* merupakan singkatan dari *phone* dan *snubbing* yang artinya ponsel dan menghina. Istilah ini dipakai untuk menunjukkan sikap menyakiti lawan bicara karena penggunaan *smartphone* secara berlebihan (Hanika, 2015). Fenomena ini bisa memengaruhi tatanan sosiologis dalam masyarakat sebagai makhluk sosial. Webster, (2015) mendefinisikan *phubbing* sebagai *"the act of snubbing someone in a social setting by looking at your phone instead of paying attention*". Hal ini berarti *phubbing* adalah aksi yang bisa menyebabkan orang lain tersakiti karena perhatian individu terlalu dipusatkan pada *smartphone*. Faktor pemicu terjadinya fenomena ini adalah karena adiksi seseorang terhadap *smartphone*.

Hal ini didukung oleh hasil survei terhadap mahasiswa Psikologi Universitas Negeri Padang yang dilakukan pada tanggal 30 Desember hingga 1 Januari 2019 yang menunjukkan bahwa 80,2% mahasiswa pernah mengabaikan lawan bicara (sahabat atau teman) saat bermain gadget *(phubber)*. Lalu, sekitar 91,3% mahasiswa mengaku pernah diabaikan oleh lawan bicara (sahabat atau teman) karena sibuk menggunakan gadgetnya *(phubbee)*. Ini sejalan dengan hasil penelitian Leung yang menyatakan bahwa kualitas hubungan persahabatan yang rendah disebabkan oleh adiksi terhadap ponsel. Sebaliknya, kualitas hubungan persahabatan yang baik cenderung memiliki tingkat adiksi ponsel yang kecil (Widyasari, 2015). Selain memengaruhi kualitas interaksi seseorang, *phubbing* juga menimbulkan kecemasan, masalah fisik, dan psikologis.

Padahal, jika ditinjau ulang seharusnya teknologi bisa memberikan dampak positif terhadap kesejahteraan sosial, pola komunikasi, dan interaksi manusia. Namun, kenyataannya saat ini determinisme teknologi mulai memperburuk keadaan manusia, di mana fenomena seperti *phubbing* muncul akibat pengaruh teknologi terutama *smartphone*. Budaya masyarakat Indonesia yang menghargai lawan bicara mulai memudar dan kini *smartphone* diperlakukan layaknya teman sejati daripada memanusiakan manusia lainnya (Hanika, 2015).

Kajian mendalam mengenai fenomena *phubbing* sangat diperlukan mengingat efek yang ditimbulkan dari fenomena ini di era teknologi akan terus berlanjut dirasakan. Masih sedikit penelitian di Indonesia yang mengangkat fenomena *phubbing* untuk dikaji lebih mendalam. Ini bisa dipicu karena masyarakat masih menganggap fenomena *phubbing* adalah fenomena yang wajar. Padahal, analisis penyebab, perspektif teori, dan solusi sangat dibutuhkan untuk menanggulangi dampak negatif fenomena baru ini.

Oleh sebab itu, penelitian ini hadir untuk mengisi kekosongan tersebut. Penelitian ini signifikan diperlukan di era *society 5.0* terutama dalam menghadapi tantangan *phubbing* pada pola komunikasi antarpersonal. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti

mengkaji fenomena *phubbing* menggunakan perspektif teori determinisme teknologi. Teori ini memaparkan bahwa teknologi informasi dan komunikasi yang ada tidak hanya membentuk perilaku dan etika manusia, tetapi juga membawa sebuah revolusi terhadap operasi sistem sosial (Jan et al., 2020)

Teori tersebut sangat berhubungan dengan fenomena *phubbing* yang terjadi saat ini. Karena pada faktanya, determinisme teknologi telah memengaruhi pola interaksi masyarakat. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif, penelitian ini diharapkan bisa menambah wawasan baru mengenai fenomena *phubbing* yang menggeser pola komunikasi masyarakat terutama di lingkup mahasiswa dan analisisnya berdasarkan perspektif teori determinisme teknologi.

KAJIAN PUSTAKA

Media Baru

Proses interaksi masyarakat terus berkembang seiring dengan kehadiran teknologi berupa media baru. Menurut, McQuail, (2010) media baru atau *new media* adalah platform yang identik dengan internet, di mana banyak terjadi ketidakpastian di masa depan karena banyaknya model penggunaan dan pengawasan yang dipakai di dalamnya. Kehadirannya di era *postmodern* membuat media baru berkembang dengan beragam model disertai ketidakpastian (Cahyanti, 2016). Dari hal tersebut, bisa disimpulkan bahwa media baru merupakan media yang sistemnya erat dengan internet.

Istilah "media baru" mengacu pada berbagai perubahan dalam produksi, distribusi, dan penggunaan meia. Media baru juga dikatakan sebagai salah satu penanda dari perubahan karakteristik yang dapat mengintensifkan berlangsungnya proses globalisasi (Nugroho, 2020).

Adapun karakteristik media baru yaitu sebagai berikut. (1) *Interactivity,* yaitu media baru sangat cepat memproses komunikasi antarpersonal di mana pengguna di dalamnya interaktif bertukar informasi. (2) *Demassification,* di mana kendali media baru berpindah kepada setiap pengguna bukan hanya dikendalikan produsen. (3) *Asynchronous,* ketika proses penyaluran informasi dan komunikasi bisa dilakukan pengguna kapan saja, sesuai dengan keinginan. Karakter lainnya menurut McQuail, (2010) menyebutkan bahwa media baru terdiri atas empat kriteria yaitu media pencarian informasi, media partisipasi kolektif pengguna, media komunikasi antarpersonal, dan media permainan interaktif. Dari kriteria tersebut, media sosial seperti YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, dan TikTok masuk ke dalam media baru (Faidlatul Habibah & Irwansyah, 2021) which is the result of the development of technological advances, shifts the lifestyle of people who switch to all digital, including in consuming information. The rapid flow of information through new media as a medium has made people enter the era of the information society. The massification of information and the information society cannot be separated from the existence of digital infrastructure or Information and Communication Technology (ICT. Semua media sosial tersebut masuk dalam teknologi bernama *smartphone*.

Media baru *smartphone* membuat pola sosial masyarakat modern berubah. Variasi akan bentuk media baru membuat

banyak penggunanya kecanduan. Ini yang menyebabkan adanya gangguan dalam interaksi antarpersonal. Media baru adalah produk budaya yang tidak lepas dengan kehidupan masyarakat termasuk pengaruh yang diciptakan dalam penggunaannya (Hanika, 2015).

Phubbing

Disebutkan dalam Nazir & Pişkin, (2016)Smartphone's play an important part in people's lives. It's easy to see people talking, slipping, or even playing on their phones in public places. Certainly, when people are concentrating on the small screens in hands, they won't care about their plights. So the probability of an accident is higher than before. Some countries even set up the "mobile phone sidewalk" to reduce potential hazards. But that is just palliatives. People needed to find a solution that "describe the annoying situation and further remind people to put their phones down, and get talking to each other again."In response to this request, a new word "phubbing" was created.","container-title":"International Journal of Indian Psychology","DOI":"10.25215/0304.195","ISSN":"2348-5396","issue":"4","journalAbbreviation":"Int J Indian Psychol","language":"en","source":"DOI.org (Crossref, kata *phubbing* muncul kali pertama di Australia pada 2007 sejalan dengan iklan kampanye yang dilakukan oleh Macquarie Dictionary. Pada Mei 2012, agensi iklan di Melbourne meluncurkan kampanye untuk mengekang perilaku ini dengan mengundang leksikografer, penulis, dan penyair untuk menciptakan kata baru dalam mendeskripsikan fenomena ini. Muncullah kata *"phubbing"* yang tersusun dari kata *"telephone"* dan *"snubbing"* (Capilla Garrido et al., 2021)

Phubbing bisa mengurangi kualitas interaksi antara orang-orang dalam masyarakat karena orang yang melakukan sikap ini menunjukkan sikap tidak menghargai orang yang ada di sekitar mereka, dengan menghindari komunikasi antarpribadi dan mereka tidak menyadari atau tertarik dengan lingkungan mereka. Dengan kata lain, dapat *phubbing* diartikan sebagai perilaku menghina seseorang dalam lingkungan dengan terlalu memperhatikan gawai, bukan berkomunikasi dengan orang tersebut secara langsung (Aditia, 2021).

Faktor pemicu terjadinya *phubbing* sangat beragam mulai dari bosan, kesepian, *fear missing out* (ketakutan ketinggalan), hingga adiksi terhadap media baru seperti media sosial dan *game* (Al-Saggaf & O'Donnell, 2019)how people perceive phubbing, what are the reasons behind people›s phubbing and what predicts this behavior. The review of the literature has revealed that phubbing heightened feelings of jealousy between romantic partners, weakened the bond between them, lowered their relationship satisfaction and increased their rates of depression. Phubbing was perceived as rude, offensive, and a violation of social norms. It undermined perceptions of empathetic concern, closeness, interpersonal trust, and conversation quality. The review of literature has also revealed that technological addictions, such as, smartphone addiction, SMS addiction and social media addiction, boredom, fear of missing out, and lack of self-control all predicted phubbing behavior but that reciprocity, the tendency to engage in more

than one task at the same time (multitasking. Penyebab *phubbing* didominasi karena pemakaian *smartphone* berlebihan sehingga memunculkan adiksi. Ini diperkuat pernyataan Marshall McLuhan dalam Rivers, dkk yang memaparkan, "pada saat manusia menemukan sarana komunikasi baru, tidak saja menciptakan peralatan baru komunikasi massa, namun juga mengubah esensi dari komunikasi massa itu sendiri" (Irvangi, 2020).

Adapun ciri-ciri seseorang melakukan *phubbing* dapat diketahui melalui kriteria yang disebutkan Amelia et al., (2019) phubbing phenomena occur in various social groups, including college students. This has an impact on social relationships and physical health. This is a qualitative study which aims to describe the causes, behavior, and impact of phubbing. The informants were fifth semester Faculty of Public Heath, University of Indonesia undergraduate students' year 2018. Data collected through focus group discussions on female students and in-depth interviews with male students. The results of this study indicate that students understand phubbing as a phenomenon where a person is more engaging with mobile phones than interacting with the surrounding environment. Duration of internet usage starts from 5 hours to almost 24 hours a day. Phubbing among students was due to the desire to get updated information and events, entertainment, and shows the activities or achievements of themselves. The influence of the social environment and the demands of the academic environment encourage the use of smartphones frequently. Some students experience physical health problems (tiredness, sore eyes, dizziness, nausea berikut. (1) Menempatkan fokus utama pada *smartphone* ketika berkumpul dengan kerabat, (2) panik jika tidak ada *smartphone*, (3) selalu memegang *smartphone* di manapun dan kapanpun, dan (4) sering mengecek *smartphone* dalam waktu yang singkat (Ekasari, 2022)

Kemudian, dari aspek dampak, Cery dan McLuhan berpendapat bahwa kehadiran *smartphone* mampu memengaruhi manusia dari berbagai aspek termasuk budaya manusia dan pikiran. *Phubbing* bisa membuat tujuan dari sebuah komunikasi menjadi tidak tercapai dan efektif. Komunikasi yang bertujuan untuk mencapai pemahaman bersama *(common understanding)*, saling pengertian *(mutual understanding)*, dan kesepakatan timbal balik *(mutual agreement)* menjadi terhambat dan tidak berhasil (Irvangi, 2020). *Phubbing* juga menimbulkan relasi interpersonal berjalan tidak harmonis. Kemudian, menurut Przybylski & Weinstein, (2013) yet little is known about how the frequent presence of these devices in social settings influences face-to-face interactions. In two experiments, we evaluated the extent to which the mere presence of mobile communication devices shape relationship quality in dyadic settings. In both, we found evidence they can have negative effects on closeness, connection, and conversation quality. These results demonstrate that the presence of mobile phones can interfere with human relationships, an effect that is most clear when individuals are discussing personally meaningful topics. (Crossref , kehadiran *smartphone* dalam sebuah percakapan akan menimbulkan berkurangnya kedekatan yang dirasakan, koneksi, dan kepercayaan terhadap lawan bicaranya.

Pola Komunikasi

Menurut Soejanto, pola komunikasi merupakan keterkaitan komponen satu dengan yang lainnya dalam proses komunikasi. Proses komunikasi memiliki pola yang ditandai dengan adanya kegiatan penyaluran pesan kepada penerima pesan yang menghasilkan *feedback* atau umpan balik. Terdapat beberapa macam pola komunikasi yaitu: (1) pola komunikasi primer, di mana simbol digunakan sebagai media penyampaian pesan dari komunikator ke komunikan, (2) pola komunikasi sekunder, yaitu ketika alat atau platform digunakan sebagai media penyampaian pesan, (3) pola komunikasi linier, yaitu proses penyampaian pesan secara langsung atau bisa juga disebut sebagai komunikasi interpersonal, dan (4) pola komunikasi sirkular, yaitu proses komunikasi yang dilakukan terus menerus karena adanya umpan balik (Juditha, 2020).

Fokus penelitian ini terletak pada pola komunikasi antarpribadi atau interpersonal. Ada beberapa unsur penting yang berperan dalam penciptaan pola komunikasi interpersonal yang efektif. Unsur-unsur tersebut antara lain: (1) sumber atau pengirim pesan (komunikator), (2) penerima (komunikan), (3) pesan, (4) media, (5) umpan balik, (6) gangguan, dan (7) etika. Dari ketujuh unsur ini, etika punya peran dalam menentukan keefektifan komunikasi. Etika berpengaruh terhadap respon orang lain. Selain itu, situasi dan suasana hati pelaku komunikasi yang optimal bisa menimbulkan pola komunikasi yang damai dan bahagia (Badawi & Rahadi, 2021)

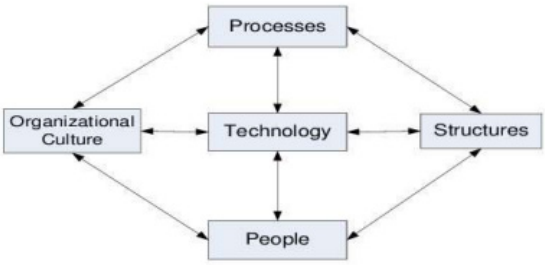
Teori Determinisme Teknologi

Dalam Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), determinisme berarti paham yang menganggap setiap kejadian atau tindakan, baik yang menyangkut jasmani maupun rohani, merupakan konsekuensi kejadian sebelumnya dan ada di luar kemauan (KBBI, 2021). Jika kata "determinisme“ disatukan dengan "teknologi“ (determinisme teknologi) dapat diartikan bahwa setiap tindakan atau kejadian yang dilakukan manusia adalah akibat pengaruh dari perkembangan teknologi (Hidayat, 2021).

Teknologi media massa menciptakan revolusi sikap dan perilaku dalam sistem sosial. Menurut McLuhan, (1964) pertumbuhan media massa memastikan budaya difusi pada masyarakat yang menekan perubahan perilaku masyarakat. Inti dari teori ini adalah seperti yang dikatakan McLuhan yaitu *"we shape our tools, and they in which in turn shape us"*. Kemudian, West & Turner (2007) juga menyatakan bahwa *"we have a symbolic relationship with mediated technology, we create technology, and technology in turn re-creates who we are"*.

Turner juga memberikan tiga asumsi kunci dalam teori ini. Pertama, media mengatur tindakan masyarakat saat ini *(media instill every act in society).* Kedua, media mengatur pengalaman manusia dan membentuk persepsi *(media shape perceptions and organize human experience).* Ketiga, media menjadi penghubung dunia *(media link the world)* (Jan et al., 2020). Berikut skema determinisme teknologi yang berpengaruh terhadap struktur sosial.

Gambar 1 Skema Teori Determinisme Teknologi



Sumber: (Adeline & Irwansyah, 2022)

METODE PENELITIAN

Metode yang digunakan pada penelitian ini yaitu metode penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Penelitian kualitatif adalah proses meneliti dan memahami isu sosial dalam kehidupan dengan memaparkan hasilnya dalam bentuk kata-kata, menganalisis dari informasi yang diperoleh dari informan, dan menyajikannya secara ilmiah (Ekasari, 2022). Pada penelitian ini, metode kualitatif digunakan untuk meneliti isu *phubbing* yang sering terjadi dalam masyarakat terutama mahasiswa. Hasil temuan yang didapatkan nantinya dideskripsikan untuk memperoleh wawasan baru mengenai fenomena *phubbing.*

Kemudian, subjek penelitian ini adalah mahasiswa program studi ilmu komunikasi UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya semester 1 sampai 3 yang mana dalam kegiatan perkuliahannya banyak melibatkan *smartphone.* Hal tersebut sesuai dengan teknik *nonprobability purposive sampling* yang merupakan sebuah metode penentuan sampel ditinjau dari pertimbangan atau pilihan peneliti mengenai sampel mana yang paling representatif atau sesuai dengan tujuan penelitian (Retnawati, 2017). Dari teknik tersebut, peneliti memilih 6 informan yang dipercaya untuk memberikan informasi mengenai fenomena *phubbing.* Adapun objek utama penelitian ini adalah fenomena *phubbing* yang dianggap lumrah dilakukan di kalangan mahasiswa.

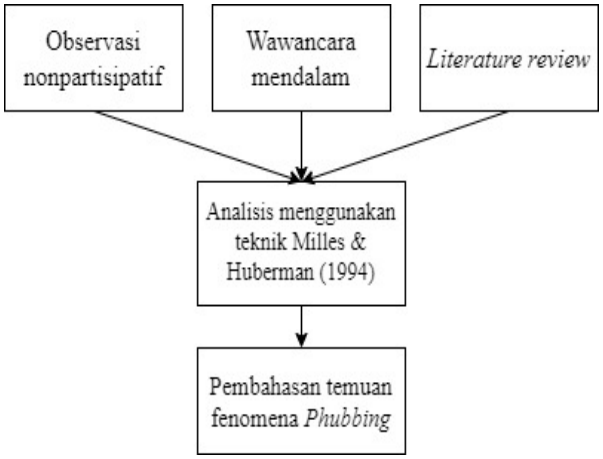
Dalam proses pengumpulan data, langkah-langkah penelitian yang dilakukan adalah sebagai berikut. Pertama, peneliti melakukan pengamatan menggunakan teknik observasi nonpartisipatif. Observasi nonpartisipatif dilakukan di mana peneliti hanya mengamati tanpa ikut dalam kegiatan (Hamli et al., 2022). Pada penelitian ini, peneliti mengamati *phubbing* yang dilakukan mahasiswa kemudian dianalisis menggunakan teori di luar lapangan. Kemudian, peneliti melakukan wawancara mendalam terhadap 6 partisipan mengenai fenomena *phubbing*. Hasil wawancara mendalam tersebut yang dijadikan sebagai instrumen penelitian.

Terakhir peneliti melakukan analisis fenomena *phubbing* menggunakan teknik *literature review* teori determinisme teknologi. Teknik Milles & Huberman (1994) dalam menganalisis data digunakan peneliti pada penelitian ini. Terdapat tiga tahapan yaitu *data reduction* (reduksi data), *data display* (penyajian data), serta *conclusion drawing and verification* (penarikan kesimpulan dan verifikasi) (Setyaningsih, 2017).

Peneliti melaksanakan observasi nonpartisipatif ketika para mahasiswa sedang menunggu perkuliahan dimulai. Ketika mahasiswa sibuk dengan *smartphone* masing-masing, di situlah peneliti mendeskripsikan hasil pengamatan. Ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan

fenomena *phubbing* berdasarkan hasil pengamatan. Kemudian, wawancara mendalam dilakukan dalam dua tahap yaitu pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023 dilanjutkan pada Selasa, 21 Februari 2023. Dapat digambarkan desain alur pada penelitian ini adalah sebagai berikut.

Gambar 2 Desain Penelitian



Sumber: dokumen pribadi.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Phubbing adalah Fenomena Baru

Istilah *phubbing* dideskripsikan sebagai fenomena acuh ketika melakukan komunikasi interpersonal karena fokus utama terletak pada *smartphone.* Namun, penggunaan istilah *phubbing* ini masih awam di telinga masyarakat Indonesia, sehingga masih banyak yang belum mengenal apa itu *phubbing*. Padahal secara global, fenomena ini sudah terjadi di lingkup masyarakat baik secara sadar maupun tidak.

Dalam penelitian ini, ketidaktahuan masyarakat Indonesia terkait fenomena *phubbing* dibuktikan dari hasil wawancara. Di mana hasil tersebut menunjukkan bahwa mayoritas informan masih belum terlalu mengetahui dan mengenal istilah *phubbing*.

Tabel 1 Hasil Wawancara

Narasumber	Hasil Wawancara
Informan 2 FM pada Selasa, 21 Februari 2023	*"Jujur, ini pertama kalinya aku dengar soal phubbing. Aku malah nggak pernah tahu ada orang nyebutin ini dan ini juga asing buat aku,"*
Informan 3 IAT pada Selasa, 21 Februari 2023	*"Orang tidak terbiasa dengan kata-kata tersebut, hanya lalu lalang saja. Jadi, perlu publikasi mengenai phubbing di sosial media atau dapat juga ketika aktivitas ngobrol di tongkrongan dan sosialisasi lewat webinar,"*

Dari informasi di atas, faktor yang menyebabkan masyarakat baru mengenal istilah *phubbing* adalah karena jarangnya penggunaan istilah tersebut. Selain itu, juga disebabkan oleh minimnya informasi seputar *phubbing* di media digital. Sosialisasi akan fenomena ini dalam media baru (dunia maya) maupun dunia nyata masih minim dilakukan. Terbukti ketika mengetik kata *"phubbing"* pada kolom pencarian media Instagram, Twitter, maupun Tiktok. Padahal, media tersebut adalah media baru terfavorit bagi generasi milenial hingga generasi Z. Bahkan dalam literatur berbahasa Indonesia pun sangat jarang ditemukan pembahasan terkait *phubbing*.

Selain itu, kehadiran *phubbing* di era *society 5.0* juga menjadikannya sebagai fenomena baru. Pada era *society 5.0*, proses interaksi masyarakat berjalan di antara dua dunia yaitu "nyata dan maya" (Fukuyama,

2018). Era *society 5.0* ini ditandai dengan banyaknya aktivitas sosial yang dibantu menggunakan teknologi. Hadirnya *phubbing* di era ini memperkuat fakta bahwa teknologi informasi memunculkan fenomena baru.

Maksud dari menjadi fenomena baru adalah dahulu belum ada fenomena seperti *phubbing*. Fenomena ini baru dirasakan masyarakat Indonesia ketika teknologi berupa *smartphone* digunakan secara masif. Sebelum adanya *smartphone*, masyarakat Indonesia sangat menjunjung proses interaksi secara langsung. Setelah difusi inovasi teknologi banyak diciptakan dalam media baru, proses interaksi berada di antara dua percabangan yaitu dunia nyata dan dunia maya. Tidak heran jika *phubbing* dapat disebut sebagai fenomena baru.

Faktor Penyebab Phubbing

Phubbing yang terjadi di kalangan mahasiswa dipicu oleh berbagai faktor. Berdasarkan hasil wawancara, keenam informan menyatakan pernah melakukan *phubbing*. Berdasarkan temuan peneliti, faktor yang menjadi penyebab *phubbing* adalah sebagai berikut.

Tabel 2 Faktor Penyebab *Phubbing*

Faktor	Bukti Temuan
Aktivitas mendesak yang membutuhkan smartphone	"*Menurut saya faktor yang mempengaruhi adanya phubbing dari diri saya sendiri kadang-kadang memang ada beberapa urusan di HP yang memang tidak bisa ditinggalkan,*" (wawancara informan 4 NF pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023).
Kebutuhan hiburan ada pada smartphone	*"Karena apa yang kita pegang yaitu ponsel lebih menarik dan menghibur daripada apa yang ada di sekitar kita,"* (wawancara informan 1 NZA pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023).
Ketidaknyamanan terhadap lawan bicara	"*Salah satu faktor terjadi phubbing pada diri saya ketika saya tidak nyaman dengan lawan bicara,*" (wawancara informan 3 IAT pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023).
Karakter pribadi	Peneliti menemukan salah satu faktor pemicu phubbing berdasarkan keterangan informan 2 yang menyatakan bahwa karakter individu bisa menjadi salah satu pemicu phubbing. Karakter kurang peduli terhadap sekitar bisa memicu seseorang sulit menjalin relasi interpersonal sehingga menjadikan smartphone sebagai temannya.

Sumber: Temuan Peneliti

Dari hasil wawancara yang pertama tidak menutup kemungkinan tuntutan dan padatnya aktivitas mahasiswa menjadikan mereka lebih banyak menjalin komunikasi melalui layar gadget daripada berkomunikasi secara langsung. Aktivitas yang menuntut mahasiswa memprioritaskan *smartphone*

seperti diskusi kelompok *online,* telepon penting, mengerjakan tugas *online*, hingga obsesi terhadap *game online*. Hal ini juga memungkinkan terjadi pada lingkup masyarakat sebab saat ini informasi dan komunikasi secara masif berpindah dalam jaringan.

Takut ketinggalan informasi *(fear missing out)* bisa menjadi salah satu faktor yang membuat individu cenderung melaksanakan aktivitas pada gadgetnya. Informasi yang beredar pada media baru memang beredar sangat cepat dan menuntut seseorang untuk selalu *update.* Apalagi pada aktivitas mahasiswa, *update* akan informasi seakan menjadi hal wajib. Ini disebabkan oleh pola kehidupan sekarang yang dapat dikatakan *hybrid* atau mengkombinasikan antara dunia nyata dan dunia maya. Ketinggalan informasi akan memunculkan kendala pada aktivitas dunia nyata. Urgensi informasi dalam *smartphone* juga menentukan seseorang bisa melakukan *phubbing*. Saat informasi pada gadget dirasa sangat penting, maka perhatian akan otomatis difokuskan dan perlahan menghilang dari lingkungan sekitar.

Pada hasil wawancara kedua menyatakan bahwa terdapat hiburan pada *smartphone* lebih menarik daripada menjalin komunikasi antarpribadi. Banyak sekali sarana hiburan yang tersedia pada *smartphone* yang membuat fokus teralihkan pada dunia maya. Hiburan tersebut seperti *game online,* konten sosial media seperti TikTok, Instagram, dan YouTube, maupun televisi *online.* Hiburan bisa menjadi kebutuhan setiap individu, tetapi terlalu memfokuskan diri dalam suasana ramai bisa memicu adiksi terhadap *smartphone* bahkan memunculkan sikap antisosial.

Pernyataan wawancara ketiga mengungkapkan perihal ketidaknyamanan seseorang dalam sebuah hubungan komunikasi. Hal tersebut menyebabkan individu lebih memilih beraktivitas pada dunia *cyber.* Ini dapat dikatakan bahwa *phubbing* menjadi sebuah ungkapan ketidaknyamanan atau bentuk menghindari komunikasi dengan individu yang tidak disukai.

Pada wawancara keempat peneliti menemukan faktor pemicu lainnya adalah karakter individu dapat menjadi salah satu penyebab *phubbing.* Karakter kurang peduli terhadap sekitar bisa memicu seseorang sulit menjalin relasi interpersonal sehingga menjadikan *smartphone* sebagai temannya.

Selain dari hasil wawancara di atas, peneliti juga menganalisis berdasarkan hasil observasi, dan ditemukan beberapa faktor lain seperti ketika seseorang tidak memiliki aktivitas, bosan, dan mayoritas individu di sekitar mengoperasikan *smartphone.* Hal ini sering terjadi pada mahasiswa ketika menunggu mata kuliah dimulai. Pada waktu menunggu tersebut setiap individu mencari kesibukannya masing-masing. Namun, kebanyakan dari mahasiswa membuka *smartphone*-nya untuk mengisi kekosongan tersebut. Ini bisa terjadi karena kebutuhan akan *smartphone* sudah menjadi kebiasaan banyak orang. Beragam faktor tersebut mendukung teori bahwa media baru menciptakan banyak ketidakpastian. Kemudahan dan kecanggihan fitur komunikasi pada media baru yang terhubung dengan akses internet membuat pola komunikasi masyarakat berubah. Adiksi seseorang terhadap *smartphone* sudah dianggap sebagai hal lumrah.

Ciri-ciri *phubbing* menurut hasil observasi dapat ditandai melalui dua hal berikut. (1) *Phubbing* bisa ditandai ketika individu *phubber* (pengabai) dipanggil atau diajak berkomunikasi oleh *phubbee* (individu yang diabaikan), ia tidak menyadari karena keasyikan dengan *smartphone.* (2) Ketika diajak untuk berkomunikasi, *phubber* menyadari tetapi lebih memprioritaskan aktivitasnya di dunia maya. Intinya, ciri-ciri *phubbing* dapat diketahui ketika seseorang menaruh fokusnya pada *smartphone* dan ia tidak memperhatikan keadaan sekitarnya. Mengecewakan orang yang mengajak berinteraksi bisa terjadi saat berada dalam kondisi seperti ini. Kedua ciri-ciri ini biasanya terjadi ketika individu mulai fokus beraktivitas dalam jaringan seperti *meeting online,* memainkan *game online,* atau mencari hiburan dalam sosial media.

Kemudian, ciri-ciri yang disebutkan dalam teori seperti menempatkan fokus utama pada *smartphone* ketika berkumpul dengan kerabat, panik jika tidak ada *smartphone,* selalu memegang *smartphone* kapanpun, dan sering mengecek *smartphone* dalam waktu singkat ini sudah banyak dilakukan oleh mahasiswa. Banyak ditemukan mahasiswa yang sulit untuk meninggalkan *smartphone.* Kebanyakan individu yang terlena akan dunia maya sehingga sering terlupa untuk melaksanakan aktivitas di dunia nyata. Secara sadar atau tidak, aktivitas mahasiswa saat ini mayoritas melibatkan dunia maya sehingga berdampak terhadap dunia nyata. Padahal, menyeimbangkan aktivitas dalam dunia nyata maupun dunia maya sangat diperlukan untuk menjaga pola komunikasi antar individu.

Phubbing Menggeser Pola Komunikasi Interpersonal

Mayoritas informan menyatakan bahwa *phubbing* bisa mengganggu pola komunikasi interpersonal. Komunikasi interpersonal adalah proses komunikasi yang terjadi antara komunikator dan komunikan dengan tujuan menciptakan *mutual understanding* atau persamaan pemahaman. Komunikasi ini bisa juga disebut dengan komunikasi antarpribadi. Tentunya, kehadiran *phubbing* sebagai fenomena baru punya pengaruh yang sangat besar dalam pola interaksi dan komunikasi interpersonal.

Ketidakfokusan individu ketika diajak berbicara dapat mengganggu pola komunikasi interpersonal pada mahasiswa. Di sisi lain, komunikasi interpersonal pada mahasiswa ini sangat dibutuhkan untuk memperkuat relasi serta kemudahan aktivitas. Tidak adanya hubungan timbal balik antara satu pihak dengan yang lain membuat tujuan komunikasi menjadi terhambat. Seperti disebutkan dalam Irvangi, (2020) bahwa komunikasi memiliki tujuan yaitu *common understanding)*, saling pengertian *(mutual understanding)*, dan kesepakatan timbal balik *(mutual agreement).* Ketidakfokusan individu pada saat melakukan *phubbing* membuat tujuan tersebut menjadi terhambat.

Pola komunikasi yang sejatinya mengoptimalkan tujuh unsur komunikasi menjadi tidak efektif karena *phubbing*. Dalam berkomunikasi hendaknya mengoptimalkan unsur pola komunikasi efektif seperti yang disampaikan dalam Badawi & Rahadi, (2021) yaitu unsur

komunikator, komunikan, pesan, media, umpan balik, gangguan, dan etika. *Phubbing* yang terjadi sangat mengganggu pola komunikasi dari keseluruhan unsur tersebut. Dari aspek komunikator, pastinya pesan yang disampaikan tidak efektif karena diabaikan oleh penerima pesan. Kemudian, dari aspek penerima pesan menerima pesan tidak maksimal karena fokus teralihkan pada layar *smartphone*. Pada saat komunikator menyampaikan pesan dan komunikan mengabaikan, dampak berupa miskomunikasi sangat mungkin terjadi. Pengabaian ini yang membuat penangkapan makna pesan menjadi berbeda sehingga miskomunikasi bisa terjadi.

Kemudian, ditinjau dari aspek umpan balik hal ini bisa saja terjadi antarmahasiswa. Tergantung bagaimana *phubber* dan *phubbee* bersikap ketika berkomunikasi. Banyak perbedaan situasi ketika *phubbing* terjadi. Namun, situasi tersebut dapat berubah kondusif tergantung individu yang menyikapinya. Selanjutnya, dari segi gangguan pastinya *phubbing* menjadi bentuk gangguan itu sendiri. Dalam Badawi & Rahadi, (2021) juga dijelaskan bahwa gangguan komunikasi adalah seluruh faktor yang bisa mengganggu proses transmisi pesan. Dari hal tersebut, bisa disimpulkan bahwa *phubbing* menjadi aspek pengganggu dalam proses penyampaian dan penerimaan pesan sehingga interaksi satu sama lain terhambat. Ini yang menjadi salah satu faktor penyebab miskomunikasi, ketidaknyamanan komunikasi, dan terhambatnya *mutual understanding.*

Terakhir, *phubbing* juga melanggar aspek etika dalam berkomunikasi. Padahal, etika sangat penting dalam menunjang keberhasilan Komunikasi yang efektif mencakup kepercayaan yang dianut, kecermatan yang dirasakan, hasrat akan interaksi, kemauan menerima dari manajemen puncak dan persyaratan informasi keatas, membutuhkan kepekaan dan ketrampilan yang hanya dapat dilakukan setelah mempelajari proses komunikasi dan kesadaran apa yang dilakukan saat berkomunikasi (Agustina et al., 2019).

Dalam etika komunikasi Islam, *phubbing* melanggar prinsip *qawlan baligha* yaitu prinsip komunikasi efektif. *Qaulan balighan* adalah prinsip komunikasi yang tepat sasaran, penggunaan kata efektif, *straight to the point* (langsung ke pokok masalah, dan tidak bertele-tele. Dijelaskan dalam Al-Qur'an surah An-Nisa' [4] ayat 63.

أُولٰٓئِكَ الَّذِيْنَ يَعْلَمُ اللّٰهُ مَا فِيْ قُلُوْبِهِمْ فَاَعْرِضْ عَنْهُمْ وَعِظْهُمْ وَقُلْ لَّهُمْ فِيْٓ اَنْفُسِهِمْ قَوْلًا ۢ بَلِيْغًا

Artinya: "Mereka itu adalah orang-orang yang (sesungguhnya) Allah mengetahui apa yang ada di dalam hatinya. Karena itu berpalinglah kamu dari mereka, dan berilah mereka nasihat, dan katakanlah kepada mereka perkataan yang membekas pada jiwanya".

Ayat tersebut mendasari prinsip *qawlan baligha* yang menekankan agar komunikasi dilakukan secara jelas dan tepat pada tujuan (Marwah, n.d.). Fenomena *phubbing* tidak sesuai dengan etika ini sebab komunikasi yang dilakukan tidak sesuai dengan harapan. Tidak adanya penghargaan antara komunikator dan komunikan membuat *phubbing* melanggar etika *qawlan baligha.*

Analisis berdasarkan tujuh unsur komunikasi interpersonal di atas menunjukkan bahwa pola komunikasi saat ini telah bergeser. Sebelum adanya media baru *smartphone,* komunikasi interpersonal terjalin secara harmonis dan bahagia. Namun, setelah hadir media baru, muncul fenomena *phubbing* yang membuat pola komunikasi linier atau interpersonal berjalan tidak harmonis. Pergeseran pola komunikasi ke arah negatif ini memperkuat perkataan McLuhan yang menyatakan "pada saat manusia menemukan sarana komunikasi baru, tidak saja menciptakan peralatan baru komunikasi massa, namun juga mengubah esensi dari komunikasi massa itu sendiri" (Irvangi, 2020). Karena sarana komunikasi baru, *phubbing* terjadi dan membawa dampak terhadap esensi komunikasi itu sendiri.

Dampak Media Baru terhadap Fenomena Phubbing

Adanya pergeseran pola komunikasi interpersonal pada mahasiswa akibat *phubbing* ini tidak luput dari peran media baru. Media baru adalah platform teknologi informasi dan komunikasi yang sistemnya erat dengan jaringan internet. Media baru merupakan produk budaya yang tidak lepas dengan kehidupan masyarakat termasuk pengaruh yang diciptakan dalam penggunaannya. Akses yang tidak terbatas oleh ruang dan waktu ini memaksa individu untuk bergantung pada media baru terutama *smartphone* (Hanika, 2015).

Media baru melahirkan sistem sosial baru yang disebut dengan masyarakat informasi. Pada penelitian terdahulu disebutkan bahwa masyarakat informasi memiliki ciri-ciri yaitu terikat dengan kebutuhan informasi, menggunakan media baru dalam segala aspek kehidupan, dan mampu melakukan transmisi informasi dengan cepat dan tidak terbatas (Faidlatul Habibah & Irwansyah, 2021)which is the result of the development of technological advances, shifts the lifestyle of people who switch to all digital, including in consuming information. The rapid flow of information through new media as a medium has made people enter the era of the information society. The massification of information and the information society cannot be separated from the existence of digital infrastructure or Information and Communication Technology (ICT

Media baru memiliki karakteristik yaitu *interactivity, demassification,* dan *asynchronous.* Hal itu menjadikan interaksi masyarakat dalam dunia nyata berkurang. Kecanggihan yang menawarkan kemudahan dalam akses informasi dan komunikasi membuat *phubbing* terjadi. Komunikasi yang seharusnya interaktif pada dunia nyata berpindah ke dalam dunia *cyber.* Ini dipicu oleh karakteristik media baru *demassification* yang membuat kebanyakan orang lebih suka berinteraksi di media baru. Menurut tinjauan teori, *phubbing* dapat menjadi hal yang biasa dalam masyarakat karena orang-orang di lingkungan sekitar telah melakukan hal yang sama. Apabila seseorang merasa banyak individu melakukan *phubbing,* maka ia akan berpikir bahwa hal tersebut biasa terjadi dan dapat diterima (Amelia et al., 2019)phubbing phenomena occur in various social groups, including college students. This has an impact on social relationships and physical health. This is a

qualitative study which aims to describe the causes, behavior, and impact of phubbing. The informants were fifth semester Faculty of Public Heath, University of Indonesia undergraduate students' year 2018. Data collected through focus group discussions on female students and in-depth interviews with male students. The results of this study indicate that students understand phubbing as a phenomenon where a person is more engaging with mobile phones than interacting with the surrounding environment. Duration of internet usage starts from 5 hours to almost 24 hours a day. Phubbing among students was due to the desire to get updated information and events, entertainment, and shows the activities or achievements of themselves. The influence of the social environment and the demands of the academic environment encourage the use of smartphones frequently. Some students experience physical health problems (tiredness, sore eyes, dizziness, nausea. Dari hasil wawancara dapat dipaparkan sebagai berikut.

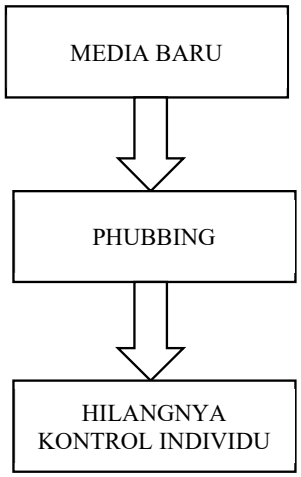
> *"Phubbing itu tergantung orangnya, ya kayak mengerti etika dasar berkomunikasi apa enggak. Tapi, juga ini jawaban aku adalah setuju sebagian besar orang yang aku temui ketika mereka menggunakan handphone mereka jadi kurang aware sama kita ataupun kurang peka sama keadaan gitu. Kayak Misalnya ngobrol atau ada hal penting yang di samping aktivitas bermain handphone kita jadi melihat itu kayak dinomorduakan karena aplikasi atau handphone," (wawancara informan 2 FM pada Selasa, 21 Februari 2023).*

Dari pendapat tersebut, bisa dianalisis bahwa media baru terutama *smartphone* mengontrol situasi interaksi sosial baik secara langsung maupun tidak. Kontrol setiap individu untuk mengendalikan media baru sering terguncang karena tuntutan dampak yang telah dirasakan pada berbagai lini. Media baru membuat kebanyakan orang tidak peka akan lingkungannya dan lebih mengutamakan dunia maya. Dominasi inilah yang membuat *phubbing* menjadi dianggap lumrah di era ini. Ini bisa memunculkan karakter buruk seperti antisosial, hilangnya empati, dan penurunan moral serta karakter.

Difusi inovasi yang terus dikembangkan pada media baru membuat masyarakat lebih tertarik berinteraksi dalam dunia maya. Banyak orang yang ingin mendapatkan pengakuan dalam dunia maya sehingga tidak bisa mengontrol penggunaan media baru. Padahal, seharusnya manusialah yang bisa mengendalikan media baru sebab pada hakikatnya media baru diciptakan untuk menyelaraskan kehidupan manusia.

Inti dari terjadinya *phubbing* ditandai dengan hilangnya kontrol individu atas media baru. Apabila individu dapat mengontrol diri dalam menjalin relasi interpersonal, maka perilaku *phubbing* dapat diminimalisir. Media baru yang memunculkan beragam tantangan ini sangat sulit dikendalikan. Maka dari itu, kontrol atas diri sendiri dalam mengoperasikan media baru sangat diperlukan agar tidak tergerus oleh tantangan seperti *phubbing*.

Gambar 3 Bagan Keterkaitan Media Baru dengan Fenomena *Phubbing*



Sumber: dokumen pribadi

Pada bagan tersebut memperlihatkan bagaimana dampak media baru terhadap masyarakat yang mana keberadaan media baru telah memunculkan fenomena *phubbing.* Fenomena ini menyebabkan seseorang menjadi kehilangan kontrol akan dirinya sendiri. Hal itu mengakibatkan seseorang memiliki karakter negatif seperti hilangnya empati, antisosial, dan penurunan moral masyarakat.

Dari hasil pengamatan, sebenarnya banyak sekali peluang untuk memunculkan respon ketika mengoperasikan *smartphone.* Namun, kebanyakan individu tidak bisa mengontrol diri sehingga respon terhadap lawan komunikasi tidak ada. Respon sangat dibutuhkan dalam proses komunikasi sebagai bentuk penghargaan terhadap lawan bicara. Ketika sibuk mengoperasikan *smartphone,* sebaiknya individu mengkomunikasikan terlebih dahulu bahwasannya ia sedang sibuk. Dengan adanya komunikasi tersebut, lawan bicara akan mengerti sehingga tidak ada kekecewaan di dalamnya.

Menurut informan 3 dan 2, terdapat solusi untuk mengatasi *phubbing* sebagai pengaruh dari media baru yakni sebagai berikut:

Tabel 3 Solusi Mengatasi *Phubbing*

Hasil Wawancara	Solusi
"Terdapat solusi untuk meminimalisir phubbing seperti mengenalkan dalam sosial media ataupun seminar. Setelah mengenalkan, yang paling utama adalah kesadaran pribadi. Hasil kesadaran tersebut setidaknya bisa mempertahankan norma atau budaya yang sudah ada. Kalau tidak ada kesadaran juga solusi tersebut tidak bisa jalan," (wawancara informan 3 IAT pada Selasa, 21 Februari 2023).	- Mendapat sosialisasi melalui media sosial atau seminar - Kesadaran pribadi
"Menurut aku, cara yang paling penting adalah memahami keadaan. Karena mungkin etika perlu ya, tapi yang kedua ini lebih menjurus tentang keadaan. Kayak misalkan kita tidak bisa	- Memahami keadaan - Mendahulukan etika
selalu mendapatkan apa yang kita mau ya. Tetapi, kita bisa tuh mendapatkan respon yang kita mau dengan cara mengkomunikasikan dulu sebelum memulai percakapan untuk mendapatkan respon," (wawancara informan 2 FM pada Selasa, 21 Februari 2023).	- Mengkomunikasi kan sebelum memulai percakapan

Sumber: Olahan Peneliti

Meninjau pendapat di atas, dapat dianalisis solusi untuk meminimalisir *phubbing* antara lain mensosialisasikan *phubbing*, meningkatkan kesadaran pribadi, memperbaiki etika, mengkomunikasikan tujuan komunikasi, dan saling memahami keadaan. Solusi tersebut dapat mengatasi faktor pemicu *phubbing* berdasarkan hasil temuan seperti adanya aktivitas penting, kebutuhan hiburan, ketidaknyamanan terhadap lawan bicara, karakter pribadi, hingga faktor lingkungan yang kebanyakan mengoperasikan *smartphone.* Namun, berdasarkan hasil analisis di atas, faktor utama yang berperan dalam memunculkan *phubbing* adalah hilangnya kontrol individu dalam penggunaan media baru sehingga memperkuat kontrol diri di tengah determinisme teknologi dapat menjadi solusi terbaik.

Perspektif Teori Determinisme mengenai Phubbing

Dalam kajian teori telah disebutkan bahwa determinisme teknologi merupakan setiap tindakan manusia yang dilakukan karena adanya pengaruh teknologi. Berdasarkan hasil pendapat dari informan, ditemukan bahwa *phubbing* adalah salah satu bentuk nyata dari adanya determinisme teknologi. Ketika ditanyakan mengenai *phubbing* adalah salah satu dampak dari determinisme teknologi, seluruh informan setuju dengan pernyataan tersebut. Mereka berpendapat bahwasannya *phubbing* adalah salah satu dampak negatif dari kemajuan teknologi. Banyak sekali perubahan pola hidup masyarakat yang dilaksanakan secara tatap muka berubah ke dalam dunia virtual.

> *"Benar,* ***tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwasannya hal tersebut menjadi dampak dari kemajuan teknologi.*** *Yang mana mobilitas dan banyak kebutuhan yang bisa diakses di sosial media secara tidak langsung memberikan efek samping yaitu phubbing itu sendiri," (wawancara informan 6 BZ pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023).*

> *"****Determinisme berdampak terhadap perubahan pola hidup manusia*** *selain terhadap pola kehidupan manusia menurut saya* ***teknologi juga berdampak kepada kebudayaan dan juga kebiasaan manusia.*** *Gimana, jika dulunya manusia dapat berkomunikasi secara langsung atau hanya bisa berkomunikasi secara langsung karena adanya perkembangan teknologi ini jadi manusia dapat melakukannya secara tidak langsung atau melalui teknologi itu sendiri," (wawancara informan 4 NF pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023).*

Dari pendapat tersebut, dapat dianalisis bahwa kebutuhan manusia saat ini sangat berpengaruh dalam menciptakan perubahan. Arus informasi yang menyebar dengan cepat membuat segala tindakan manusia terikat akan teknologi. Teori determinisme teknologi yang digagas oleh Marshall McLuhan ini sudah dapat dirasakan dalam kehidupan masyarakat ini.

Fenomena *phubbing* adalah salah satu perwujudan akibat dari adanya determinisme teknologi ini. Kebanyakan mahasiswa era saat ini pernah melakukan *phubbing* secara sadar atau tidak sadar. Hal ini dapat dianalisis menggunakan tiga kerangka utama teori determinisme yang

dikemukakan McLuhan. McLuhan, (1964) memaparkan bahwa perkembangan media massa memastikan budaya difusi inovasi pada masyarakat. Adapun kerangka yang disampaikan McLuhan yaitu dalam perkataannya yaitu *"we shape our tools, and they in which in turn shape us"*. Artinya kita membentuk alat kita, dan alat tersebut pada gilirannya membentuk kita. West & Turner (2007) juga menyampaikan bahwa *"we have a symbolic relationship with mediated technology, we create technology, and technology in turn re-creates who we are"* (Jan et al., 2020). Artinya kita memiliki hubungan simbolis dengan teknologi media, kita menciptakan teknologi, dan teknologi pada gilirannya menciptakan kembali siapa kita. Adapun tiga kerangka dalam teori ini sebagai berikut. (1) Media mengatur setiap tindakan dalam masyarakat, (2) media membentuk persepsi dan mengatur pengalaman manusia, dan (3) media menghubungkan dunia. Dari kerangka teori tersebut, fenomena *phubbing* dapat dianalisis sebagai berikut.

Dari perkataan McLuhan, (1964) mengenai "kita membentuk alat kita, dan alat tersebut pada gilirannya membentuk kita", dapat dianalisis bahwa memang teknologi yang diciptakan saat ini berhasil membentuk karakter manusia. Media baru seperti *smartphone* yang di dalamnya terdapat sosial media TikTok, YouTube, Instagram, hingga Facebook telah berhasil membentuk pola masyarakat. Fenomena baru seperti *phubbing* adalah bentuk nyata dari pernyataan ini. Terjadinya *phubbing* karena teknologi juga memperkuat perkataan West & Turner bahwa (2007) bahwa kita memiliki hubungan simbolis dengan teknologi media, kita menciptakan teknologi, dan teknologi pada gilirannya menciptakan kembali siapa kita. Maknanya, penciptaan teknologi dapat menciptakan karakter dan pola manusia. Dapat diketahui bahwa hubungan simbolis teknologi dengan manusia adalah mengenai transmisi informasi dan aktivitas. Banyak sekali aktivitas yang membutuhkan teknologi seperti *artificial intelligence,* media komunikasi, dan sebagainya. Lalu, faktanya saat ini media yang diciptakan bisa membentuk karakter manusia seperti adanya fenomena *phubbing.* Karakter masyarakat seperti ini erat dengan karakter masyarakat informasi yang mana dalam kegiatannya sangat sulit lepas dari teknologi dan internet.

Kemudian, dianalisis berdasarkan kerangka inti teori determinisme teknologi dapat dibahas sebagai berikut. **Pertama,** media mengatur setiap tindakan dalam masyarakat *(media instill every act in society).* Seluruh informan menyetujui bahwa saat ini media telah mengatur tindakan dari masyarakat. Hasil temuan pada penelitian ini memaparkan bahwa pola komunikasi saat ini berubah karena tindakan dari masyarakat itu sendiri. Tindakan individu yang memprioritaskan media baru untuk dijadikan teman menjadikan *phubbing* terjadi sehingga tindakan komunikasinya pun tidak efektif. Media memunculkan tindakan yang menghambat sistem sosial seperti *phubbing* ini.

Tanpa disadari kemajuan teknologi telah memperbudak manusia itu sendiri. Dahulu, keadaan manusia tanpa teknologi biasa saja, namun saat ini semua ketergantungan akan media baru, seperti *smartphone,* internet, dan komputer. Para pendukung determinisme

teknologi berpendapat bahwa masyarakat telah dipengaruhi dan dibentuk oleh perkembangan teknologi. Konsekuensi negatif dari teknologi itu bukan berasal dari teknologi itu sendiri, melainkan penggunaan yang buruk dari manusianya (Nugroho, 2020).

Kedua, media membentuk persepsi dan mengatur pengalaman manusia *(media shape perceptions and organize human experience)*. Maknanya segala informasi yang terdapat pada teknologi dapat membentuk sudut pandang, pola pikir, dan pengalaman yang didapatkan. Teknologi memiliki *power* untuk menciptakan persepsi masyarakat karena sifatnya yang masif. Persepsi tersebut diciptakan melalui informasi yang dibuat.

Meskipun perkembangan media membawa tujuan baik bagi kehidupan manusia, namun teknologi informasi dan komunikasi telah melahirkan *hypermedia* di mana segala informasi maupun berita dapat diakses setiap harinya. Globalisasi juga telah memunculkan sifat-sifat individualistik dan materialistik (Nugroho, 2020). Saat ini sudah banyak informasi yang dibuat melalui konten pada media baru. Pastinya hal ini dapat mengontrol sistem masyarakat. Iklim media saat ini membuat penggunanya terobsesi hingga memunculkan adiksi. Obsesi inilah yang seharusnya bisa dikendalikan oleh setiap individu. Sebab, adiksi dari media baru tersebut memunculkan kebiasaan dan karakter negatif seperti *phubbing* ini. Telah dianalisis bahwa *phubbing* dapat membawa pengaruh negatif berupa pola interaksi yang tidak harmonis.

Ketiga, media menghubungkan dunia *(media link the world)*. Memang tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa media dapat memudahkan manusia dari aspek jarak dan waktu. Apalagi konsep dari teknologi seperti media baru yang mengedepankan interaktivitas akan memudahkan akses ke seluruh penjuru. Selain itu, difusi inovasi yang diciptakan dalam media baru bersifat masif dan asinkron tentunya sangat berpengaruh terhadap pola masyarakat. Tetapi, yang menjadi sebuah permasalahan adalah ketika media baru mendekatkan yang jauh dan menjauhkan yang dekat (Hanika, 2015). Seperti halnya *phubbing* yang mengganggu interaksi interpersonal. Dari hasil penelian, *phubbing* pastinya mengganggu pola komunikasi antarpribadi. Di mana ketika hal ini dilakukan, maka salah satu pihak akan merasa dikecewakan karena tidak ada respon. Tentunya konsep *link the world* ini bisa menimbulkan efek positif dan negatif. Kontrol diri dalam menghadapi determinisme teknologi sangat diperlukan agar kecanggihan tersebut bisa menimbulkan keefektifan dan kebermanfaatan.

Sebagaimana disebutkan oleh informan 5 yang menyebutkan bahwa arus determinisme teknologi harus disikapi dengan baik.

> *"Teknologi akan berdampak baik jika pengguna dapat menggunakan teknologi tersebut sesuai dengan fungsi tujuan dan manfaatnya," (wawancara informan 5 IR pada Senin, 2 Januari 2023).*

Tidak semua pengaruh dari teknologi dapat menimbulkan efek negatif seperti *phubbing*. Tetapi, pengaruh akan teknologi akan sangat dirasakan dalam perubahan pola hidup manusia. Pengaruh tersebut dapat dilihat dari penggunaan media

baru oleh mayoritas individu. Karena faktor penggunaan yang mayoritas inilah membuat *phubbing* dianggap sebagai perilaku lumrah dalam masyarakat. Oleh sebab itu, penanaman karakter positif dalam diri dapat dilakukan untuk mengatasinya.

Berdasarkan kerangka teori di atas, teknologi punya pengaruh besar terhadap budaya organisasi, manusia, struktur, dan proses sosial. Oleh karena itu, *phubbing* menjadi wujud nyata dari teori determinisme teknologi. Fenomena *phubbing* menunjukkan bahwa teknologi berupa media baru menciptakan karakter baru. Karakter tersebut harus disikapi dengan bijak agar tidak mengganggu pola komunikasi dan menjadi budaya negatif dalam sistem sosial.

KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan hasil temuan dan pembahasan, dapat disimpulkan *phubbing* berasal dari kata "*telephone*" dan "*snubbing*" yang berarti fenomena menghina lawan bicara karena *smartphone.* Ciri-cirinya dapat diamati ketika seseorang memusatkan fokus saat mengoperasikan smartphone bersamaan dengan ajakan untuk berkomunikasi. Penyebab *phubbing* ini beragam seperti aktivitas urgen dalam *smartphone,* kebutuhan hiburan individu, ketidaknyamanan terhadap lawan bicara, hingga karena faktor karakter pribadi. *Phubbing* dapat memunculkan karakter negatif seperti hilangnya empati, antisosial, dan penurunan moral masyarakat. Ini dipicu karena hilangnya kontrol individu terhadap kehadiran media baru. Kontrol individu dalam pemanfaatan media baru sangat diperlukan untuk mengatasi dampak fenomena ini dan menjadikan pemanfaatan media baru efektif.

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The Discourse of Corruption in Mass Media: Polarization, Ideology, and Challenges

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Abstract

This article presents the opposing point of view between Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia in reporting on the revision of the KPK Law after the presidential inauguration. The analysis focuses on the ideology reconstruction of both of those media. The method uses critical discourse analysis to uncover the invisible power, interests, and ideology behind the contents and elements of the articles and the production of a text on Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia. The findings that Media Indonesia's ideology in reporting the revision of the KPK Law is based on the political interests of the media owners, thus in this case, Media Indonesia considers the revision of the KPK Law as an effort to improve and strengthen the performance of the KPK with a pro-government narrative. Meanwhile, Tempo's ideology in reporting the revision of the KPK Law was based on elite interests, so the ideology used was investigative ideology by building a criticizing narrative based on the facts found. This study aims to increase public awareness of the importance of critically viewing this polarization; thus, the harmful excesses of political propaganda do not easily provoke them through mass media.

Keywords: *Corruption Discourse; Ideology; Polarization; Mass Media*

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Wacana Korupsi di Media Massa: Polarisasi, Ideologi, dan Tantangan

Abstrak

Artikel ini menyajikan sudut pandang yang berseberangan antara Koran Tempo dan Media Indonesia dalam pemberitaan revisi UU KPK pasca pelantikan presiden. Analisis difokuskan pada rekonstruksi ideologi kedua media tersebut. Metodenya menggunakan analisis wacana kritis untuk mengungkap kekuatan, kepentingan, dan ideologi yang tak terlihat di balik isi dan unsur-unsur artikel dan produksi sebuah teks di Koran Tempo dan Media Indonesia. Temuan bahwa ideologi Media Indonesia dalam memberitakan revisi UU KPK didasarkan pada kepentingan politik pemilik media, sehingga dalam hal ini Media Indonesia menganggap revisi UU KPK sebagai upaya untuk memperbaiki dan memperkuat kinerja KPK. KPK dengan narasi pro pemerintah. Sedangkan ideologi Tempo dalam memberitakan revisi UU KPK didasarkan pada kepentingan elit, sehingga ideologi yang digunakan adalah ideologi investigatif dengan membangun narasi kritik berdasarkan fakta-fakta yang ditemukan. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk meningkatkan kesadaran masyarakat akan pentingnya melihat secara kritis polarisasi ini; dengan demikian, ekses berbahaya dari propaganda politik tidak mudah memprovokasi mereka melalui media massa.

Kata Kunci: *Wacana Korupsi; Ideologi; Polarisasi; Media Massa*

INTRODUCTION

The developing concept of public sphere quality offered by Habermas (1993) has resulting a consequence that mass media should be appeared within the democratic system. The role of mass media is demanded to construct a balancing perspective between supporting and opposing of government policy opinion (Heryanto, 2018). However, the dynamic changes in the political environment sometimes lead to polarization for one (Tóth et al., 2022). One of prominent example of this media polarization has occured in United States during last two decades, which has emerged the liberal and conservative partisans (Dimmock, 2014). This polarization may sometimes change the way political news is produced and consumed, as in polarized society most people prefer to hear the news they desired rather than the other contradictive information (Wojcieszak et al., 2021). Thus, this phenomenon might become a threat to the journalist ethics by blurring the lines between information and entertainment (Sujoko, 2022; Wahyudi et al., 2022).

In recent years, this similar scenario has occurred in Indonesia, involving two reputable media called Tempo and Media Indonesia. These media have different viewpoints on responding to the revision of Indonesian law number 30 Year 2002 which explains the corruption eradication commission or locally known as Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK). Both Tempo and Media Indonesia have widely reported this revision process differently. On the one hand, tempo has become one of the sharpest media against the government's decisions especially during Joko Widodo's tenure, for its defiance towards this case. On the other hand, Media Indonesia is a media that provides a more apologetic viewpoint displaying clarifications related to government's policy.

The different viewpoints between Tempo and Media Indonesia are one of early portraits of political polarization in Indonesia (Wijayanto, 2012). Under this circumstance, several possibilities might be illustrated such as Chomsky (2005) who indicates that the media undermine the impact of their role on political dynamics, where they deliberately deviate from honest reporting to manipulate public opinion. While Zagidullin et al., (2021) confirms different way in which political involvement for social media users in Turkey shows a pattern of behavior from users actively involved in politics to form inclusion and exclusion mechanisms in creating a polarized political approach. Furthermore, similar research such as Hameleers (2020) & Jarikre (2017) confirms wide-ranging interpretations and findings. The media context produces unique manifestations of language and discourse on the news.

As mentioned above, most of the researchers have examined the narrative structure of news discourse, the role of quotation and voicing to influence the users, and the relation of standardize language to news routines, among other topics. There is still a gap between more linguistically oriented studies and the various approaches in the social political science on power abuse and inequality behind the media (Sujoko et al., 2020) Accordingly, it is important to point out

that the news media can be studied in the terms of its texts and also the process involved in the text production to examine the component of political, social and institutions dimensions that influence the media behind as a fundamental component (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). Thus, this research reveals media polarization of Tempo and Media Indonesia under the case of revision of law number 20 in the Year 2002 to reveal a further projections and consequences.

In a more detailed look, this study states the different perspectives of those medias on dealing a corruption discourse and to analyse the ideological basis and political influence that challenges media freedom in Indonesia. At this point, the study applies a critical discourse analysis by van Djik (1993) as backbone to forms the discussion of each perspective. Hence it is expected that this study will provide an academic and practical understanding of the conceptual foundations related to media ideology in the study of political communication (Asnan & Siswandoyo, 2018; McNair, 2011), and also enhance public awareness on the importance of critically viewing this polarization thus the harmful excesses of political propaganda does not easily provoke them through mass media (Chomsky, 2005; Heryanto, 2018; Setiananda & Rifa'i, 2018).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse and Ideology: Van Dijk and Fairclough

The parameters of context models provide the basis of indexical that include deictic expression referring to the time, place, action and participants of the communication situation, which means that it represents the aspect of the communication environment, hence the social parameters of language use. Indeed, the Van Dijk discourse models can control how language users adapt their ongoing discourse and interaction to the current communication situation. This significant value is critical discourse analyst such as Fairclough (2013) and van Djik (1993) linked to power and social interest within form of relationship that e&merge a different perspective. Critical Discourse Analysis examines how structure and elements as supporting management in the texts to represent the story or ideology behind a text (Fairclough, 2013; van Djik, 1993).

The context of text analysis has represented a structure of the social situation relevant to the production of discourse (van Djik, 1993, 2009). It consists of such categories as the language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication belonging to the social order's icro-level. While power, dominance, and inequality between social groups typically belong to macro-level analysis. For instance, the social cognition analysis refers to the language users as a personal memory, knowledge, and opinions, and those shared with members of Tempo and Media Indonesia. On the other hand, Fairclough and Van Dijk are mainly concerned with ideological effects of discourse. Similarly, van Djik (2009) notes that the critical function of ideologies may promote the groups' interest into a basis for resistance.

Instead of further elaborating on the intricate detail of this discourse, this study

used a critical discourse analysis by (van Djik, 1993). This theoretical framework chosen is one big reason of this conceptual framework seen more clearly describing the structure, components and elements of a discourse. Fairclough's framework intensely focuses on semantic and grammatical features of text only or interdiscursivity analysis of the text. This study has several ways to analysis Van Dijk framework of text analysis, as follows

Table 1. The Critical Discourse Van Dijk Analysis

Discourse Structure	Components	Element
Macro structure	THEMATIC (what is said)	Topic
Super structure	SCHEMATIC (structure opinion)	Scheme
Micro structure	SEMANTIC (i.e., meaning that you want to emphasize in the news text)	Settings, details, intentions, assumptions, nomenclature
	SYNTAX (opinion conveyed)	Sentences, consistency, pronouns
	STYLISTK (choice of words used)	Lexicon
	RHETORIC (what way is the emphasis)	Graphics, metaphors, expression

Source: (Eriyanto, 2017; Suprihatin & Oktarina, 2022; van Djik, 1993, 2009)

This theoretical framework sketched how far the distance between context produced underlying ideologies. Ideology and manner in some perspectives are legitimised and achieve dominance remains a central issue in textual analysis. On the one hand, doctrines are more specified in socially shared attitudes about particular issues or group concerns (Fairclough, 2013). In these all cases power, dominance are associated with specific of social cognition (van Djik, 2009). The mass media in Indonesia is quite central when examined through the ideological side of the media. Some are interested in the ideological battle behind media institutions (Ahmadian & Farahani, 2014). To get more clearly and deepest ideologies behind media content, the social cognition domain used Reese & Shoemaker (2016) theory, the hierarchy of influence model considers five levels of analysis that shape media content. These include individual level; media routines level; organization level, extra media level, and ideological level.

The model takes into multiple force that simultaneously impinges on the media and suggests how influence at one level may interact another. At each level, one can identify the main factors that shape the symbolic reality revealed through content, constituted, and produced by media worker as well as show how these factors interact across level and compare across different contexts (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). The political interests of groups that dominate media ideology often cause the media to provide information that is not entirely true – not wholly false, it is not easy to interpret the text produced by the media (Sujoko, 2019).

METHODS

This research uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the contents

of the articles and the elements of the production of a text. Critical discourse analysis aims to uncover the ideologies embedded in media mass texts, such as news stories (Ahmadian & Farahani, 2014). This method helps to find the invisible power, interests, and ideology behind it for transformative political purposes (van Djik, 1993). Using discourse analysis enables several approaches to answering research questions and permits like Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia reported on KPK Law Revision. In considering each news element, this analysis sought to critique the way in which Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia was presented as a news subject on each front page, weaving together common themes and highlighting differences throughout the coverage. Therefore this discourse analysis is needed to find out the structure of the text and the production of the news texts it contains ideology of the two media.

The evidence for this study was collected from document browsing (online) and in-depth interviews. First, by searching for documents online about the revision of the KPK Law both on those media mass between September, 6th 2019 to September, 18th 2019 , this search is carried out on the official website of Tempo and Media Indonesia. This period was chosen because of the turbulent socio-political conditions (such as demonstrations by students, civilians and former KPK employees) after the revision of the KPK Law, so it is necessary to disclose the discourse on the revision of the KPK Law which was built by Tempo and Media Indonesia. Second, in-depth interviews with media workers from Tempo and Media Indonesia, through these in-depth interviews, data will be obtained on the cognition of media workers from Tempo and Media Indonesia in making or reporting on the revision of the KPK Law incident. This second data collection technique is to determine the cognition of media workers from Tempo and Media Indonesia, or the second domain of social cognition in Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis method. The interviews in this study were conducted with ER as the Editorial Board of the Media Group and the person in charge of the Political-Legal Column of Media Indonesia, and AM as the Editor of Tempo and the Chairperson of AJI Indonesia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pollarization of Discourse on KPK Law Revision

The research's results will be discussed in a few stages, starting with the macro structure analysis, superstructure analysis and micro structure analysis, then the social cognition that involves a role scheme, it will be discussed one by one in detail and clearly as follows:

Macro Structure of News in Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia

Based on critical discourse analysis, the discourse conveyed by Tempo Newspaper is trying to direct the public to regard the image of the representatives as a source of this problems and the KPK Institution as a victim. It can be seen from the choice of language structure used:

> *"Revision of the KPK law will weaken the corruption eradication commision – civil society groups and legal experts believe*

that the representative is considered formally flawed by anti-corruption" (News on the quotation 1 and 2).

The words 'weaken' and 'formally flawed' in the news expressions used to respectively up road, connote disappointment in society due to the negative excesses of the revision of corruption law. It is clearly seen how Tempo Newspaper openly uses a clear and steady grammar through the topics and theme that shown on the news, then it supported by a superstructure that provides supporting sentences through data or statements from legal experts stating the negative impact of the revision of KPK law would made this institution performance weakened.

Meanwhile, Media Indonesia whose considers that this revision is strengthens the KPK institution and becomes a legal product can be seen from the choice of macro structure used*:*

"Corruption prevention becomes a nessesity of a new paradigm - the president in the MPR annual session on august 16th, 2019 said it was important for us to strengthen the eradication of corruption. the indicator is not only the number of corruptors arrested by the KPK." (News of excerpt 1)

The choice words of 'new paradigm', and 'necessity' aims to build a positive discourse from the point and at the same time to dismiss the negative view from tempo media. These finding is interesting that Media Indonesia emphasizes neutral language through macro structures in its report. Based on both macro structure, Media Indonesia displayed the macrostructure by headlines or titles and also news terrace.

The prominent thing that can be seen in the revision of the KPK Law reported by Tempo, this investigative narrative was built an opinion on the lack of seriousness of the representative and government in enacting laws that actually weakened the KPK's position as the independent of corruption eradication institution. A different discourse is shown by the reporting of corruption in the Media Indonesian, which seems to indicate a contradiction in the news from the Tempo. The contradictions of the positive discourse tend to emphasize the form of pro-representative support. Similar findings were made by research conducted by Nartey (2020) that mass media who maintains a positive discourse strategy sheds light on how discourse can be construed as an inspiring artifact, that offers a message of encouragement, hope, and strength in times of difficulty. Thus, the macro structure both of those mass media can be seen in the topics and news content used to criticize or support a policy.

Meanwhile, Media Indonesia uses a pro-government clarifying narrative, Media Indonesia constructs a core discourse or theme through headlines or title and news stories. Then the main theme or discourse on the importance of revising the KPK Law to strengthen the KPK Institution and change the paradigm of KPK's performance. In line with the studies conducted by Firdaus (2021) that the selection of titles, topics or themes from the mass media indicates an influence to be given to the public or readers. These two realities are constructed by each media with their perspective at the same time strengthens the opinion of van Djik (1993, 2009) that behind the different viewpoints of the mass media in providing

information to the public. Ahmadian & Farahani (2014) and Nyarwi (2008) stated that there is an ideological battle in it and the various interests behind the mass media institutions.

Superstructure of News in Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia

Tempo Newspaper super structure directs readers to find out how bad the revision of the KPK Law is by claiming the title – the news terrace and then giving arguments from the body of the news to the tail of the news. The following is an excerpt from the news super structure of Tempo's news report that reflects this:

> *"He highlighted several articles that have the potential to weaken the performance of the KPK, there is an article to coordinate with the Attorney General's Office regarding the obligation to obtain permission from the Supervisory Board before conducting wiretapping (News 1 on paragraph 3 and 4)*

> *"ICW and Abdul FickarHadjar as a criminal law expert of Trisakti University also criticizes the existence of the KPK supervisory board and the revision of the KPK Law because it suspected the institution has no longer independent...." (News 1 on paragraph 6 and 8).*

The discourse conveyed by Tempo Newspaper emphasizes of the statements or comments from someone who is considered to be able to strengthen the news editor. Tempo Newspaper discusses the revision of corruption Law will have an impact on the KPK performance, it caused several articles that limit the freedom of KPK to conduct wiretapping. In addition, the discourse that Tempo wants to be conveyed to the public is the emergence of the supervisory board as a result of this revision. Furthermore, Tempo Newspaper constructed a super structure on news 2 by bringing up a discourse that was conveyed to the public to demand the President Joko Widodo not to create a Surpres because this revision could weaken the KPK's performance. Below is an excerpt from Superstructure 2, which represents the discourse:

> *"Director of Network and Advocacy of the Center for Indonesian Law and Policy Studies, Fajri Nursamsi also urged Jokowi not to issue a Surpres not to issue a Surpres because there are irregularities were found in the discussion of the KPK Bill…." (Paragraph 7 –news 2). Similar statement conveyed by Hendra Supratikno that stated this revision was not formally flawed because it had been included in the national legislation program, while, the legislative and executive institutions have been agreed (Paragraph 8 – news 2)*

However, both on the news 2 showed a rejection and support statement thus in this case Tempo Newspaper using the cover both side technique to balance the main discourse they want to present, this statement shows that politicians seem want to hide the negative within particular formulations such that the population may not see the truth or the horror before them. On the other hand, the superstructure of Media Indonesia directs the reader or the public to assume that this revision is a legal product. The following is an excerpt from the news superstructure of Media Indonesia:

> *"To further strengthen the task of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), all factions in the DPR approved the revision of Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission (Paragraph 1 – news 1).*

> *"This is the decision of the plenary session of the council chaired by the Deputy Speaker of the DPR, after being approved at the plenary meeting, his party immediately discussed the revision points in the KPK Law." (Paragraph 2 and 4– news 1).*

The coherence between paragraphs at this superstructure is fully integrated into discourse on the main theme that presented to the public as a legal product that must be accepted by the community. The following is the superstructure for news 2:

> *"Revision of the KPK Law is a necessity – carried out so that each article is not misused by law bearers.... (News headline 2), besides,"The KPK Law is 17 years old. We draft the KPK Law to be in accordance with the needs of the times," said a member of commission III from the PDIP Masinton faction" (Paragraphs 1 and 2 – news 2).*

Supported these statement Irman Sidin stated that "the revision is a must, we cannot reject it, but not all items from the revision need to be approved, but through this revision KPK does not just make arrest at work'' he said. (Paragraph 5 and 7– news 2

> *"KPK employees also asked Jokowi to firmly reject the revision of the KPK Law and the problematic KPK leadership candidates. Yesterday, they held an action to cover the KPK logo in the KPK Red and White Building with a black cloth." (Paragraph 10 – news 2).*

Media Indonesia also presents the opinions of legal experts who agree with this, while the opinions of legal experts are structured to reinforce each other. It is interesting that Media Indonesia's position seems neutral by presenting parties who are against the revision of the KPK Law (Paragraph 10). In this case, Media Indonesia developed a superstructure the same as Tempo Newspaper with a cover both side technique – its not as neutrality in the revision of the KPK Law, but as a journalistic technique. Media Indonesia remains focused on the main discourse that directs readers or the public to regard the revision of the KPK Law as a necessity of the times, even though it is accepted by the public.

The construction of the super structure from Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia, both use the cover both side technique, called a journalistic technique that displays two sides between the pros and cons. The cover both side technique used by Tempo Newspaper is in the form of a rebuttal to the discourse in paragraph 7 news 2 regarding irregularities in the discussion of the revision of the KPK law, this technique is seen in paragraph 8 news 2 to balance the main discourse that wants to be displayed, namely the flaws in the revision of the KPK law discussed by members of representatives. On the other hand, the cover both side technique used by Media Indonesia presents the opinions of legal experts who mutually agree on this in paragraphs 1,7,10 in News 2 where the opinions of legal experts are constructed to reinforce each other.

In this case, Media Indonesia has developed a superstructure with a cover both side technique – not as neutrality in the case of the revision of the KPK Law, but as a journalistic technique solely by selecting informative and neutral facts. It is also seen that the Media Indonesia remains with its main discourse which directs the reader or the public to regard the revision of the KPK Law as a necessity that must be accepted by the public. This finding is in line with the prevous research conducted by Kovach & Rosenstiel (2021) which states that the press media or journalism cannot be neutral in the sense of being impartial – because the press must side with the truth held by the general public or society.

Microstructure of News in Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia

The microstructure includes the local meaning of a discourse, to four aspects: semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. These four aspects are described as :

The semantic analysis in this study focuses on the event background of the discourse production. The text news on the Tempo Newspaper does not display a semantic elements, but a it is shown on Media Indonesia : *"...Revisions are reasonable so that each article is not misused. A necessity that must be accepted without being rejected… " (news excerpt 2),* the semantic elements/local meanings that are displayed to strengthen the discourse to be conveyed in each sentence or paragraph. Hence, it is hoped that the audience understand the positive message that Media Indonesia wants in their discourse.

The syntactic analysis are manifested in a sentences displayed as shown in the following example:

> *"…It because the House of Representatives proposes adding articles that limit the authority of the KPK in conducting wiretapping, prosecution, and appointment of investigations as well as independent investigators" (news excerpt 1). While, According to him, Jokowi should be sensitive to the current maneuvers of the representaive. He suspects that this is part of an effort by Senayan politicians to weaken the KPK institutionally…" (news excerpt 2).*

Tempo Newspaper sentences house of representatives proposes adding articles that limit the authority of the KPK in conducting wiretapping, prosecution, and appointment of investigations as well as independent investigators is the main idea to form an inductive paragraph. Then the second one stated that 'this is a part of an effort by Senayan politicians which refers to the representatives to weaken the KPK institutionally' is the main idea to form a deductive paragraph that serve as an explanation. The use of pronoun 'him' referring to the activist or the expert that choosen. The syntax elements such as deductive-inductive pattern of paragraph, pronouns him serve as cohesive device of the discourse.

The rhetorical elements used by Tempo Newspaper is a graphic that attracts the public to seem the revision of corruption law as a product that will weaken the KPK as an institution to eradicate corruption. In addition, Tempo also features a graphic display that informs the problematic articles and weaken the performance of the KPK. Both of the news shows that Tempo Newspaper did not used metaphors or figurative sentences

to support the discourse. The rhetorical element through the graphics displayed by Tempo Newspaper, as follow:

Figure 4.1 Tempo Cover Story (06/09/2019)

Soure: Tempo.com

Figure 4.2 Rhetorical Tempo on News 2 (06/09/2019)

Aksi bertema selamatkan KPK oleh mahasiswa dan buruh dengan longmarch dari Patung Kuda menuju Istana Merdeka, Jakarta, kemarin. TEMPO/Subekti.

Source: Tempo.com

Figure 4.3 Rhetorical Graphics Tempo on News 2 (06/09/2019)

Source: Tempo.com

An interesting finding of this study is the used of graphics, that become a part of the rhetorical element in Media Indonesia. It actually displays graphics that are contrary to the main discourse to be conveyed to the public. The following is a graphic of Media Indonesia:

Figure 4. Graphics of Controversia Points on the RUU KPK News 2 (09/09/2019)

Independensi
Revisi UU KPK mengatur kedudukan KPK yang berada pada cabang eksekutif dan akan menjadi lembaga pemerintah.
Dewan pengawas
Dewan pengawas terdiri atas 5 orang, mengawasi pelaksanaan tugas dan kewenangan KPK, dipilih oleh DPR berdasarkan usulan presiden.
Poin Kontroversial Revisi UU KPK
Izin penyadapan
Revisi UU mengatur bahwa KPK harus dapat izin tertulis dari dewan pengawas KPK sebelum menyadap.
Kewenangan SP3
Revisi UU mengatur kewenangan KPK menerbitkan surat perintah penghentian penyidikan (SP3).
Status pegawai KPK
Dalam UU revisi, pada pasal 1 poin 7 sudah ditegaskan bahwa pegawai KPK adalah PNS dan pegawai pemerintah dengan perjanjian kerja sebagaimana dimaksud dan peraturan perundang-undangan di bidang aparatur sipil negara.

Source: m.mediaindonesia.com

Media Indonesia shown in its main discourse that revision of corruption law by the representative as a nessesity and a legal product must occur and must be accepted by the public, but the superstructure formed in the main discourse is collided with the rhetorical graphics on figure 4 which informs the points of controversy in this revision that can be a reason for the public to reject this revision.

The micro structure constructed by Tempo and Media Indonesia are clearly show the ideologies of the two media/press. Such as semantic elements/local meanings that are displayed to strengthen the discourse to be conveyed in each sentence or paragraph. Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia both use semantic elements to convey ideas in the news by creating coherence with propositions or statements

from sources in the news. Then, syntactic elements are used by both media/press to create coherence between sentences or even between paragraphs through conjunctions, conjunctions, and pronouns to produce discourse (van Djik, 1993, 2009). This finding also similar to the studies conveyed by Arsyandikayani & Sumarlam (2020) who maintain that discourse coherence can be built through the selection of paragraph type, the use of conjunctions, and pronouns as a reference of mass media strategy. The syntax of Tempo Newspaper using the pronoun "senayan politician" to report the representative while the other news stated it directly as DPR or representative.

Media Indonesia uses phrased diction that gives rise the interpretations by the readers. This is like choosing the title of the two news stories that are the object of this study, news 1 uses the "Paradigm" diction in which the diction is closely related to academics which means an agreed view of reality or agreed rules of the game. Media Indonesia would like to underline that the KPK's performance will be focused from the initial action (considered a failure) to being focused on prevention. Meanwhile, the syntax constructed by Media Indonesia emphasizes supporting the representatives as the proponent of this revision, explicitly using the pronoun "he" to report on the representatives, while those who oppose the KPK are called directly by name.

In addition, the use of metaphor both on those media is to express more emotions (van Djik, 2009) than literal language and provoke emotional responses in the context of political discourse covered by mass media (Mohammad et al., 2016; Sobkowicz & Sobkowicz, 2012). By using metaphor, the statement of his defeat is carried out by subtly without embarrassing to the opponent, thus the use of metaphors is considers as a media strategy to avoid embarrassing public figures with literal expressions (Muhassin, 2021). It can be understood that the use of metaphors in a news discourse is a journalist's strategy to make a strong interpretation of what they want to describe (Cabot et al., 2020).

Ideology and Challenges of Discourse on KPK Law Revision

Ideology and challenges in this research used social cognition analyzed by van Djik (2009) and was discussed using the theory of hierarchy influence by Reese & Shoemaker (2016) in the form of individual levels, media routine levels, organizational levels, and extramedial levels, as the following below:

Individual levels

The individual level shown by Tempo suggest that journalists play an important role in intervening the content of media discourse. This statement is followed by a finding which states that:

> *"We don't believe the claim by the government and its supporters to strengthen the KPK, the fact is that the revision weakens the KPK, so if the government and its supporters think it strengthens, I think it's nonsense, the Supervisory Board limiting, if you want to do wiretapping, you have to report quickly if you want to be tapped..... Because there are too many politicians who are caught, so if the government and the DPR revise the KPK Law, it's*

definitely a bad intentions, because they feel disturbed by the KPK" (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).

This finding also proves that the Individual level at Tempo is at the level of the journalism doctrine by media workers at Tempo idealism for media workers, namely the highest value on social control. At the same time, Media Indonesian shows a statement:

"There was a debate that time we discussed at the editorial meeting, when it becomes a decision, everyone in the editors must comply with it – that's common everywhere in all media… the signs are usually when there is an instruction from the Editorial Board, so if the editorial board decides, the direction is west, of course the direction is west." (Excerpt from Interview with ER Media Indonesia – 10/08/2020).

It means that individual level at Media Indonesia has no influence on the content of media discourse when reporting on the revision of corruption law.

Media routine levels

The sentences that show media routine levels give a tendency of the media to package news or news mechanisms produced in Tempo as follow:

"As far as I know Tempo does not consider readers, because if we consider readers, so that means, if you write badly about Jokowi it will worry that Jokowi's supporters will unsubscribe" (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).

The words Tempo does not consider readers' indicates that the audience has no influence on a discourse presented by Tempo Newspaper, it shows the strategy that Tempo Newspaper chose was to criticize the government, even though it resulted in not getting advertisements from the government and losing readers/customers from government supporters, however the media routine that appear by Media Indonesia shown in the following statement:

"The life of the media also doesn't depend on the appearance of the news, we can't sell the news without advertising, we present the news but the ads don't exist. Government, it doesn't mean we parrot, okay? even from the government we swallow it raw. If we are close to the government, the Ministry will be more comfortable if we ask for advertisements, yes, that's one way compared to those who are not close to the government.." (Excerpt from Interview with ER Media Indonesia – 10/08/2020

The sentences of ' we can't sell the news without advertising', can be seen that Media Indonesia strategy to survive and maintain its existence is by approaching the government, thus the advertisements from the Ministry/Government could hand in Media Indonesia.

Organizational levels

The organizational level does not affect the content of the news. *"When it comes to the KPK, The editor has the same perspective. I don't have any views on the KPK…" (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).* The owner of Tempo cannot intervene the editorial policies, as Tempo is a media company that already listed on the stock exchange, and its ownership varies or is

not controlled by 1-2 groups. In the end, it create the independence of Tempo's in political events. Otherwise Media Indonesia has shown:

> *There was a debate at that time that we discussed at the editorial meeting, when it becomes a decision, everyone in the editors must comply with it (Excerpt from Interview with ER Media Indonesia – 10/08/2020).*

The editorial board of a media group has considerable influence in determining its attitude towards political events over the revision of corruption laws. As it is known that Media Indonesia is under PT Media Group, therefore the editorial policy is determined by the Editorial Board of the Media Group which also oversees Metro TV.

Extramedia levels

Tempo has not shown any external influence on the main discourse in its reporting, as evidenced by:

> *"In my opinion, all journalists at Tempo learn from the same journalistic doctrine and have not changed much that in fact the highest role of the media is journalists when referring to the law, information is entertaining, educating, and social control. Tempo will be on the rails, I think Tempo's political stance can't be separated from Tempo's history in the past, which was indeed quite critical of the government, and some were critical of the government. this is a historical legacy, definitely the historical factor and also the idealism factor brought by Tempo's past history and also the journalists who joined under it...." (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).*

Besides, Media Indonesia shows the possibility of external intervention, as follows:

> *"There must be a question, can the media take sides? If I have a strong belief that the Press Law itself is in favor of truth, the public interest, democracy, human rights, and law enforcement... so for example, if I may not take sides, that is not a relevant question. What is not allowed is that we take sides or not take sides because there is pressure, for example we defend a group that is against the revision because the group gave us money, or vice versa. That's a question of independence, because the side is economic interest. But if the consideration of giving a defense is purely in the public interest, then that is still partisanship that is still allowed." (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).*

There is no difference between the social cognition of workers from Media Indonesia and Tempo and the discourse built through language and displayed in the news that is consumed by the public. Interestingly, the findings on workers' social cognition from Media Indonesia and Tempo show that there are similarities, as a desire to strengthen the KPK, but the methods used by the two media are different. the ideology that influences Media Indonesia in reporting on the revision of corruption law is highly influence by the organization level. At the organization level, media Indonesia owners (or in this case the Editorial Board) have the most power because they occupy the top structure of the organization's management. Otherwise, the organization level did not intervene the editorial policy of Tempo Newspaper in this case.

In fact, what influences Tempo's editorial policy are the individual level and the media routines level, Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). This individual level is at the level of the journalism doctrine studied by media workers at Tempo, namely the highest value on social control. Meanwhile, level of media routines this watchdog for power. Tempo's history was banned during the New Order era because its criticism made media workers defend this ideal. This condition strengthens Sujoko et al., (2020) that the non-functioning of the trias politica (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Institutions) properly provides space for the mass media to act. as watchdogs.

According to Reese & Shoemaker (2016) the findings on tempo fulfill one of the important factors that influence news value, namely the conflict or controversy factor in a news story, Tempo's ideological selection is motivated by the history of tempo as a critical media in the new order era. Thus, Tempo Newspaper chose to perform the function of social control and became the watchdog of the Indonesian political situation, and the idealism of Tempo workers also intervened in this choice.

Based on the overall explanation, it shows how the position or ideology of Tempo and Media Indonesia. Tempo Newspaper considers that the revision of the KPK Law is a legal product that must be canceled because it would weaken the performance of the KPK. This condition was in line with the Kompas ideology. Meanwhile, Media Indonesia views that revising the KPK Law is reasonable and should change the performance of the KPK, this discourse described in Media Indonesia's ideology is in line with Surya Paloh's ideology (Nasdem, Political Party). This condition is reinforced by how the ideological differences in each media serve as organizational guidelines for action (Fairclough, 2013; van Djik, 1993, 2009).

Table 1. Comparison of Discourse and Ideology from Media Indonesia and Tempo Newspaper in the KPK Law Revisions

Media	Discourse Polarization of KPK Law Revision	Media Ideology	Genealogy of Media Ideology
Media Indonesia	Strengthening the KPK Institution by supporting the revision of the KPK Law, and supporting the Executive and Legislative	Organizational and extra-media ideologies have dominantly influenced the construction of the discourse on the KPK law Revisions.	The organization level comes from an editorial policy that has been committed since the beginning (2014) to support Joko Widodo›s government. The extra-media level comes
	Governments in strengthening the KPK Institution.		from the policy direction of the Nasdem Political Party which is chaired by Surya Paloh who is also the owner of the Media Group (Media Indonesia).

Tempo Newspaper	Strengthening the KPK Institution by rejecting the revision of the KPK Law; and criticizing the Executive and Legislative governments for weakening the KPK Institution.	Individual dan extra-media ideologies have dominantly influenced the construction of the discourse on the KPK law Revisions.	The individual level comes from the activist background of the journalists at Tempo. The extra-media level comes from the history of Tempo which has been in opposition to the government (since the *Orde Baru* era).

Source: Researc's findings

CONCLUSION

Media Indonesia uses a pro-government narrative in the discourse of the KPK LAW revisions. The discourse from Media Indonesia on the importance of revising the KPK Law to strengthen the KPK Institution and change the paradigm of KPK's performance. At the same time, the investigative narrative was built by Tempo Newspaper as an opinion on the lack of seriousness of the representatives and the government in enacting laws that weakened the KPK's position as an independent institution of corruption eradication. The construction of the super-structure from Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia, both use the cover both side technique that displays two sides between the pros and cons. In addition, the use of metaphors both in those media is to express more emotions than literal language and provoke emotional responses in the context of political discourse covered.

Based on the overall explanation, it shows how the position or ideology of Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia in reporting the revision of the KPK Law was based on the ideology hierarchy of influences media from Rhese and Shoemaker. Tempo Newspaper dominant ideology used was individual and extra-media level ideology by building a criticizing narrative based on the facts found, this idealism is based on their history as the most critical media in the new order era thus it creates an idealism doctrine to defend media workers. In addition, this way is used by Tempo Newspaper to act as a watchdog in the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, Media Indonesia's ideology in reporting the revision of the KPK Law is based on the political interests held by the media owners, Surya Paloh as a chairman of the Nasdem Party influenced editorial policy and then makes the news in Media Indonesia's biased with political interests, thus the alignment of the Media Indonesia is closely related to pro-government politics. It seems to be a real polarization happening in the Media Indonesia and Tempo Newspaper. Alignment of the Media/Press towards the truth that is believed to be based on their respective ideologies in the case of the Revision of the KPK Law. In other words, the Media/Press will not be neutral in fundamental political events in a country.

However, this research has a methodological limitation that only uses

two domains of Critical Discourse Analysis from Teun A Van Djik, that is text analysis and social cognition. This study does not use the domain of social context/interaction. Thus further research is needed based on the third domain of Critical Discourse Analysis from Teun A Van Djik, which uses the context/social interaction domain to see how the news discourse on the KPK law revision developed by Media Indonesia and Tempo is accepted by the public.

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Remisi Hukuman Koruptor dalam Kontruksi Media Program Talkshow Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum

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Abstrak

Diskon hukuman bagi para koruptor sedang marak terjadi di Indonesia. Djoko Tjandra dan Pinangki Sirna Malasari yang terjerat kasus korupsi serta suap-menyuap mendapatkan potongan hukuman dalam tahap banding di Pengadilan Tinggi Negeri DKI Jakarta. Sedangkan, Juliari Peter Batubara, mantan Menteri Sosial yang terjerat kasus korupsi dana bantuan sosial (bansos) mendapatkan keringanan hukuman dan hanya dituntut 11 tahun penjara oleh KPK. Pemberitaan mengenai korupsi di Indonesia memiliki nilai berita (news value) yang tinggi di masyarakat. Oleh karena itu, berbagai media memberikan porsi tersendiri dalam memberitakan diskon hukuman koruptor. Dalam memberikan informasi terhadap khlayak, media menyeleksi fakta atas suatu peristiwa yang mereka yakini penting sesuai dengan kepentingan media itu sendiri. Penelitian ini membahas tentang bagaimana media melakukan framing terhadap kasus diskon hukuman koruptor dalam talkshow Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui bagaimana kedua media tersebut memandang, memahami, mengkonstruksi serta melakukan pembingkaian terhadap permasalahan sosial-politik ini. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis framing milik Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki dengan struktur analisis sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retoris. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat perbedaan konstruksi realitas antara talkshow Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum dalam memberitakan peristiwa yang sama. Mata Najwa menunjukkan keberpihakannya pada masyarakat dengan menekankan pemberitaan pada sisi human interest. Sedangkan, Satu Meja The Forum berupaya untuk menciptakan diskusi yang berimbang dengan berfokus pada sisi politik dan permasalahan hukum.

Kata Kunci : *Konstruksi; Framing; Korupsi; Talkshow; Media*

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Remission of Corruption Punishment in the Media Construction of the Mata Najwa Talkshow Program and Satu Meja The Forum

Abstract

Discounts on punishment for corruptors are rife in Indonesia. Djoko Tjandra and Pinangki Sirna Malasari, who were caught in corruption and bribery cases, received a reduced sentence in the appeal stage at the DKI Jakarta High Court. Meanwhile, Juliari Peter Batubara, a former social minister who was caught in

a corruption case involving social assistance funds (bansos) received leniency and was only sentenced to 11 years in prison by the KPK. News about corruption in Indonesia has a high news value in society. Therefore, various media provide their own portion in reporting discounts on corruptor punishments. In providing information to the public, the media select the facts of an event that they believe is important according to the interests of the media themselves. This study discusses how the media framed the discount case for corruptors' punishment in the talkshows Mata Najwa and Satu Meja The Forum. The purpose of this study is to find out how the two media perceive, understand, construct and frame these socio-political problems. This study uses Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing analysis with syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical analysis structures. The results of this study indicate that there are differences in the construction of reality between the talkshow Mata Najwa and Satu Meja The Forum in reporting the same event. Mata Najwa shows his alignment with the community by emphasizing reporting on the human interest side. Meanwhile, Satu Meja The Forum seeks to create a balanced discussion by focusing on the political side and legal issues.

Keywords : *Construction; Framing; Corruption; Talkshow; Media*

PENDAHULUAN

Korupsi merupakan tindak pidana kejahatan yang dampaknya berpengaruh besar pada publik. Korupsi dinilai sebagai masalah dunia yang memberikan dampak dalam ekonomi dan stabilitas politik ((Nurul, 2019). Selain merugikan keuangan negara, korupsi juga berpengaruh terhadap permasalahan sosial masyarakatnya (Astuti & Chariri, 2015). Berdasarkan survei yang dilakukan oleh *Indonesia Corruption Watch* (ICW) pada enam bulan pertama tahun 2021, ditemukan hasil bahwa kerugian negara akibat korupsi mencapai Rp. 26,83 triliun atau naik 47,6 persen dari tahun 2020 yang berjumlah Rp.18,173 triliun.

Pemberitaan mengenai kasus korupsi memiliki nilai berita *(news value)* yang tinggi bagi masyarakat Indonesia. Berdasarkan survei *Transparency International* pada tahun 2020 didapatkan hasil bahwa 92 persen masyarakat Indonesia menganggap tindakan korupsi yang dilakukan oleh lembaga pemerintahan atau Aparatur Sipil Negara (ASN) merupakan permasalahan besar (*Indonesia - Transparency*, n.d.). Terdapat indikator ketidakpercayaan masyarakat terhadap sistem penegakan hukum dalam menangani kasus korupsi yang dijalankan di negeri ini. Beragam kasus korupsi membutuhkan penyelidikan yang lama dan sulit terungkap karena dinilai melibatkan pihak-pihak berkuasa seperti pemerintah (Ananda et al., 2019b).

Pada Juni sampai Agustus 2021, secara berturut-turut masyarakat Indonesia dihadapkan dengan pemberitaan mengenai remisi bagi pelaku tindak pidana korupsi. Djoko Tjandra dan Pinangki Sirna Malasari yang telah ditetapkan sebagai terpidana kasus korupsi serta suap-menyuap mendapatkan penguranagan hukuman dalam tahap banding di Pengadilan Tinggi Negeri DKI Jakarta. Pinangki Sirna Malasari yang sebelumnya dijatuhi hukuman 10 tahun penjara menjadi 4 tahun 6 bulan penjara. Sedangkan, Djoko Tjandra mendapatkan remisi 1 tahun penjara. Sehingga, masa tahanannya menjadi 3 tahun 6 bulan penjara (*PUTUSAN*, n.d.). Di sisi lain, Juliari Peter Batubara yang menjadi terpidana kasus korupsi bantuan dana sosial (bansos) mendapatkan keringanan tuntutan hukuman. Jaksa dari Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) menuntut Juliari dengan

hukuman 11 tahun penjara. Hal tersebut tidak sesuai dengan pernyataan Firli Bahuri selaku Ketua KPK yang sebelumnya mengatakan bahwa pelaku tindak pidana korupsi di tengah bencana diancam dengan hukuman mati.

Maraknya pemberian remisi hukuman bagi koruptor membuat media memberikan porsi tersendiri terhadap peristiwa tersebut. Dalam memproduksi berita, media berusaha menciptakan kesadaran dan pemahaman kepada khalayak mengenai suatu peristiwa yang mereka yakini penting dengan menekankan pada isi beritanya (Littlejohn, 2009). Media menampilkan suatu peristiwa dengan mengkonstruksi realitas, hal tersebut dapat dilakukan dengan pembingkaian atau *framing*. Secara umum, *framing* merupakan cara wartawan atau media melihat, memahami, memaknai dan kemudian menampilkannya dalam pemberitaan dengan menonjolkan isu-isu tertentu (Eriyanto, 2008).

Anzari & Fariza (2021) menjelaskan bahwa dalam kasus korupsi bantuan sosial, Kompas.com mengkonstruksi realitas dengan membentuk citra positif pemerintah dan KPK. Informasi detail mengenai proses penangkapan terpidana tidak terlalu diperlihatkan oleh media Kompas.com. Firda & Mulharnetti (2017) menganalisa konstruksi kasus korupsi pengadaan KTP Elektronik pada koran Kompas dan Tempo. Hasil riset menunjukan bahwa masing-masing media mengkonstruksi sesuai dengan ideologi yang diusung oleh media massa. Kompas membingkai kasus dengan netral. Sedangkan, Tempo menjalankan fungsinya sebagai mata dan telinga publik dengan menekankan keberpihakannya pada masyarakat.

Penelitian lain yang dilakukan oleh Echeverría et al. (2021) menemukan fakta bahwa media terkenal di Mexico dan Chili memiliki perbedaan dalam menyajikan peristiwa yang sama terkait dengan kasus korupsi. Chili lebih digambarkan sebagai negara yang minim korupsi di Amerika Latin, peristiwa korupsi yang disajikan oleh media cenderung didepolitisasi. Sedangkan, Mexico lebih sering memberitakan kasus korupsi sebagai berita harian.

Analisis *framing* dinilai sebagai salah satu metode analisis yang dapat melihat bagaimana perbedaan media dalam memberitakan suatu fakta (Ananda et al., 2019). Peristiwa yang sama bisa ditampilkan berbeda apabila diangkat oleh media yang berbeda. Hal tersebut berdasar pada sudut pandang, ideologi serta tujuan yang diyakini oleh suatu media. Ideologi media merupakan citra yang dikemas oleh media massa dan dipahami sebagai realitas yang konkret (Triyono, 2020).

Pada dasarnya *framing* bukan hanya diterapkan dalam pemberitaan di media cetak, wartawan dan media juga mengkonstruksi realitas dalam program *talkshow* yang mereka produksi. *Talkshow* adalah program yang dipandu oleh pembawa acara untuk membahas suatu topik dengan mendatangkan narasumber yang sesuai atau ahli di bidangnya (Morissan, 2015). Namun, peneliti melihat bahwa penelitian dengan metode analisis *framing* terhadap pemberitaan korupsi dalam *talkshow* saat ini masih sukar ditemukan. Beragam penelitian terdahulu dengan metode analisis *framing* yang mengangkat peristiwa korupsi lebih

banyak berfokus pada media cetak dan online sebagai subjek penelitiannya.

Berdasarkan latar belakang masalah di atas, peneliti tertarik untuk melakukan penelitian dengan metode analisis *framing* terhadap pemberitaan pemberian remisi hukuman koruptor dalam program *talkshow*. Program *talkshow* yang menjadi subjek penelitian kali ini adalah program Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum, keduanya dipandu oleh jurnalis senior yaitu Najwa Shihab dan Budiman Tanuredjo. Mata Najwa tayang di Trans 7, *Youtube Channel* Najwa Shihab serta Narasi.tv sedangkan Satu Meja The Forum tayang di Kompas TV dan *Youtube Channel* KompasTV.

Kedua program tersebut dipilih atas beberapa pertimbangan. 1) Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum tayang di media TV yang telah terverifikasi oleh Dewan Pers. 2) Keduanya merupakan produk jurnalistik karena menjalankan peliputan serta penyampaian informasi sesuai dengan kode etik jurnalistik. 3) Kedua program menjunjung tinggi kebebasan pers dengan mengundang narasumber dan memberikan hak jawab sesuai dengan Undang-Undang No. 14 Tahun 1999 tentang kebebasan pers. 4) Peneliti melihat bahwa kedua program cenderung fokus terhadap pembahasan sosial politik dan diantara program talkshow berita lainnya, kedua program tersebut menjadi pelopor pemberitaan diskon hukuman koruptor secara khusus dan mendalam.

Berdasarkan latar belakang diatas, maka rumusan masalah dalam penelitian ini adalah bagaimanakah konstruksi talkshow remisi hukuman koruptor pada program Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum?

KAJIAN PUSTAKA

Konstruksi Realitas Media Massa

Realitas menurut Peter L. Berger digambarkan sebagai sesuatu yang dibangun atau dikonstruksi. Dalam hal ini, realitas bukan hanya dibentuk secara alamiah namun dibangun oleh manusia (Eriyanto, 2008). Konstruksi sosial atas suatu realitas digambarkan sebagai tahapan sosial dari rangkaian aksi dan interaksi yang diciptakan atau dijalankan individu secara terus menerus hingga akhirnya dimaknai sebagai realitas bersama secara subjektif (Berger, Peter L & Luckmann, 1979).

Segala peristiwa yang diberitakan oleh media merupakan hasil konstruksi realitas yang dibangun oleh media itu sendiri (Hamad Ibnu, 2004). Realitas tersebut dibentuk dari rangkaian peristiwa sehingga menghasilkan suatu wacana bermakna (Sitompul, 2014). Konstruksi realitas yang dibangun oleh media akan memberikan dampak kepada publik (Febriana et al., 2020). Dampak tersebut dapat berupa penggiringan perspektif yang berpengaruh dalam pembentukan opini publik. Dalam membentuk opini publik, media massa setidaknya melakukan tiga upaya secara bersamaan, diantaranya: 1) penetapan simbol politik (pemilihan bahasa), 2) pemilihan dan penonjolan pesan (strategi *framing*), 3) menerapkan rancangan media (agenda setting media) (Hamad Ibnu, 2004). Selain ketiga upaya tersebut, pembentukan opini media massa juga didasari pada keterkaitan media dengan pihak luar, salah satunya pihak yang berkuasa (Coronel, 2010).

Media massa, baik cetak maupun elektronik menggunakan bahasa sebagai unsur utama dalam mengkonstruksi

realitas, bahasa yang digunakan merupakan bahasa verbal dan non verbal (Hamad Ibnu, 2004). Dewasa ini, bahasa bahkan berfungsi dalam memunculkan pemaknaan citra di benak khalayak terhadap suatu realitas yang dibangun oleh media (Nimmo, 1978). Dalam mengemas suatu peristiwa biasanya setiap media memiliki cara tersendiri berdasarkan kepentingan ekonomi maupun ideologi media (Hakim et al., 2021).

Berdasarkan uraian di atas, peneliti menarik kesimpulan bahwa setiap media massa mengkonstruksi realitas atas pemberitaan yang mereka muat untuk tujuan-tujuan tertentu, baik tujuan internal dan eksternal. Konstruksi realitas bukan hanya dibentuk oleh wartawan sebagai pekerja melainkan mewakili media tersebut secara keseluruhan. Dengan konstruksi realitas, peristiwa yang sama bisa ditampilkan berbeda sesuai dengan apa yang menjadi tujuan media itu sendiri.

Framing Media

Framing atau pembingkaian dapat diartikan sebagai bentuk penyajian suatu realitas dimana realitas tersebut tidak ditampilkan secara keseluruhan, tetapi dibelokkan dengan tahap seleksi dan penonjolan isu (Launa, 2020). Analisis *framing* dapat diartikan sebagai suatu kajian yang bersentral pada pengemasan serta pembingkaian berita berdasarkan perangkat tertentu di dalamnya (Sari, 2020) serta dapat digunakan peneliti untuk melihat konstruksi realitas yang dibentuk oleh media massa (Pinontoan & Wahid, 2020).

Melalui analisis *framing*, khalayak dapat melihat bagaimana wartawan melakukan seleksi isu dan menulis berita berdasarkan sudut pandangnya (Juniardi, 2019). Terdapat dua substansi besar dalam *framing*, yakni bagaimana peristiwa dimaknai dan bagaimana fakta dalam peristiwa tersebut ditulis oleh wartawan dan disajikan oleh media. Pemaknaan peristiwa berkaitan dengan tahap seleksi dan penonjolan isu (Bukhroni & Aisyah, 2020). Sedangkan, penulisan fakta berkaitan pada hal-hal yang berhubungan dengan pemilihan dan pemakaian kata, kalimat, serta ilustrasi atau gambar yang mendukung (Eriyanto, 2008).

Menurut Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki, *framing* dimaknai sebagai strategi konstruksi serta tahapan memproses informasi dalam berita (Eriyanto, 2008). Dengan begitu, *framing* dapat menggambarkan bagaimana wartawan menyeleksi fakta atas suatu peristiwa dan menuliskannya dalam berita dengan menonjolkan atau menghilangkan informasi tertentu (Triyono, 2020). Dalam membuat berita, seorang wartawan cenderung melibatkan pemilihan pada aspek-aspek tertentu, seperti : judul, susunan berita serta keberpihakan. Dalam hal ini, keberpihakan biasanya ditampilkan secara halus bahkan tidak disadari (Zulaikha, 2019).

Dalam pemberitaan korupsi, analisis *framing* dapat digunakan untuk membantu memahami bagaimana media menjalankan perannya sebagai agen perubahan dalam meliput serta mengatasi kasus korupsi itu sendiri (Abba-Aji et al., 2021). Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki melihat *framing* berdasarkan empat struktur unit analisis, yakni : sintaksis, skrip, tematik dan retoris. Dalam penelitian ini, struktur *framing*

tersebut digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi pemberitaan remisi hukuman koruptor dalam *talkshow* Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum.

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini merupakan jenis penelitian kualitatif. Penelitian kualitatif merupakan penelitian yang lebih menekankan pada makna dari suatu peristiwa dan bertujuan untuk menganalisis serta menggambarkan suatu fenomena yang berkaitan dengan sikap, persepsi seseorang atau sekelompok orang (Sugiyono, 2018).

Terdapat dua sumber data yang digunakan dalam penelitian, yaitu sumber data primer dan sekunder. Data primer diperoleh menggunakan teknik dokumentasi. Untuk mempermudah analisis, peneliti membuat salinan transkrip percakapan dalam program *talkshow.* Episode tersebut dipilih karena membahas peristiwa yang sesuai dengan penelitian.

Tabel 1. Data Primer

No	Judul Episode	Tanggal tayang	Sumber
1.	*"Keadilan Bersyarat Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia*	4 Agustus 2021	Mata Najwa, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cn3itb2RtX4&list=PL8sxH-jV_SzSy78DpYwR-UrpLc8hHMLhh
2.	*Diskon Hukuman Koruptor Menjelang Hari Kemerdekaan*	4 Agustus 2021	Satu Meja, Kompas TV https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyeO0Qv_KXo

Sumber : Data penelitian

Sedangkan, data sekunder diperoleh dari literatur pendukung serta wawancara dengan Mohammad Andica Haradi (Produser Mata Najwa) dan Johar Arief (Produser Satu Meja The Forum).

Pemberitaan mengenai pengurangan hukuman koruptor pada kedua program *talkshow* tersebut kemudian dianalisis dengan menggunakan model analisis *framing* milik Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki. Berkaitan dengan penelitian ini, analisis *framing* dapat digunakan sebagai metode untuk melihat secara sistematis bagaimana suatu media merepresentasikan kasus korupsi (Berti, 2019).

Model analisis Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki dipilih karena dinilai dapat menjelaskan lebih detail mengenai konstruksi realitas yang dibangun oleh media(Nadila & Purworini, 2021). Dalam melakukan analisis *framing*, Zhongdang Pan dan Kosicki lebih menekankan pada pendekatan linguistik, mulai dari kutipan sumber, latar informasi, pemakaian kata, serta ilustrasi (Eriyanto, 2008). Dengan begitu, model analisis ini dapat membantu dan mengkaji lebih dalam mengenai perbandingan *frame* yang dikonstruksi oleh *talkshow* Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum terkait pemberitaan remisi hukuman koruptor.

Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki membagi unit analisis *framing*

ke dalam empat struktur, diantaranya: sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retoris (Eriyanto, 2008).

Sintaksis, dimaknai sebagai proses saat wartawan menyusun konstruksi realitas melalui peristiwa, pandangan, opini, serta kutipan ke dalam suatu berita. Struktur sintaksis dapat dilihat dari *headline, lead,* kutipan serta pernyataan. Skrip, dimaknai sebagai proses saat wartawan mengisahkan apa yang menjadi pemikirannya terhadap suatu peristiwa ke dalam berita. Struktur skrip dapat dilihat dari unsur 5W+1H *(What, Why, When, Where, Who + How).* Tematik, dimaknai sebagai proses saat wartawan mengungkapkan pemahaman atas suatu peristiwa melalui preposisi dan hubungan antar kalimat sehingga menjadi satu kesatuan berita. Retoris, dimaknai sebagai proses saat wartawan membuat penekanan khusus dalam suatu berita. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari pemilihan kata, penggunaan metafora, serta ilustrasi atau gambar.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Setelah melakukan analisis *framing* menggunakan model Pan dan Kosicki terhadap pemberitaan mengenai remisi hukuman koruptor dalam program *talkshow* Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum yang masing-masing tayang pada 4 Agustus 2021, peneliti mendapatkan hasil yang dijabarkan sebagai berikut :

Tebang Pilih Hukum di Indonesia

Analisis *framing* dalam program *talkshow* ini fokus pada episode "Keadilan Bersyarat Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia".

Berdasarkan struktur sintaksis, *headline* pada program cenderung menunjukkan sikap objektif dengan tidak memberikan pandangan dari perorangan atau institusi tertentu. *Headline* episode yang digunakan oleh Mata Najwa merupakan reduksi dari pancasila poin kelima yang berbunyi "keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia". Dengan begitu, peneliti melihat bahwa latar informasi yang berusaha ditonjolkan Mata Najwa dalam episode kali ini, berkaitan dengan diskriminasi hukum yang menjadi masalah sosial-politik di Indonesia. Hal tersebut juga dipertegas dengan pernyataan Najwa Shihab di akhir segmen.

Gambar 1. Tangkapan layar di Satu Meja

Sumber: Satu Meja, Kompas TV
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyeO0Qv_KXo

Gambar 2. Tangkapan layar Narasi TV

Sumber: Mata Najwa, Trans 7
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cn3itb2RtX4&list=PL8sxH-jV_SzSy78DpYwR-UrpLc8hHMLhh

"Definisi tentang keadilan diperdebatkan sepanjang masa, dirumuskan ahli hukum politik, sampai agama. Jangan sampai berhenti di atas kertas, sekedar coretan keadilan juga mesti dirasakan dalam keseharian…"(Najwa Shihab, segmen 7)

Mata Najwa juga menggunakan dua kutipan narasumber untuk dijadikan *sub-headline*. Pertama, dalam segmen 5 "Warga Gugat Ganti Rugi Bansos : Ini Hak Kami" yang diambil dari pernyataan Eny Rochayati (Perwakilan Warga Penggugat Bansos). Kedua, dalam segmen 7 "Rakyat Dipaksa Tak Waras Melihat Penegakan Hukum" yang diambil dari pernyataan Kurnia Ramadhana (Peneliti ICW).

Dalam menyusun fakta, Mata Najwa menampilkannya melalui skema atau alur tertentu. Kesempatan untuk menjelaskan paling banyak diberikan kepada narasumber yang berpihak pada kepentingan masyarakat dengan bahasa yang santun atau tidak menyudutkan. Terlihat juga bahwa Najwa Shihab berupaya untuk mengangkat sisi *human interest* pada diskusinya.

"Bagaimana bayi bu selama di LP? Saya tidak bisa membayangkan, ibu saja pasti sudah sulit, harus bawa bayi umur 6 bulan dengan kondisi seperti itu…"(Najwa Shihab, segmen 2)

"Nenek mau cerita sudah berapa hutangnya sekarang nek? tidak apa-apa kalau nenek tidak mau sebut, tapi saya mau tahu, siapa tahu nanti ada pemirsa Mata Najwa yang mau bantu Nek" (Najwa Shihab, segmen 3)

"Ibu meminta ganti ruginya sebesar 16 Juta. Itu hitung-hitungannya bagaimana bu? Kenapa yang diminta hanya 16 Juta?" (Najwa Shihab, segmen 5)

Gaya bicara Najwa Shihab ketika melakukan dengan wawancara dengan Isma Khaira dan Nenek Hasnia dilakukan dengan bahasa yang santun dan empati mendalam melalui ekspresi wajah. Hal ini berbeda ketika Najwa Shihab mengajukan pertanyaan kepada Dini Shanti Purwono sebagai perwakilan dari pemerintah dan Maqdir Ismail sebagai perwakilan dari pihak Juliari Batubara yang cenderung tegas dan mengedepankan aspek keadilan dalam hukum.

"Iya, padahal Presiden katanya sudah prihatin, sudah meminta untuk direvisi, tapi tidak direvisi dan sebagainya ya. Jadi, lebih susah Presiden atau lebih susah rakyat ya Mbak Dini?..."(Najwa Shihab, segmen 2)

"Pak Maqdir jadi anda katakan, justru yang terzalimi ini pak Juliari begitu ya?" (Najwa Shihab, segmen 4)

Selain itu, kesempatan berbicara di awal dan akhir *talkshow* diberikan kepada Kurnia Ramadhana dan Boyamin Saiman sebagai penggiat anti korupsi. Peneliti melihat bahwa Mata Najwa berupaya untuk menonjolkan isu dengan mempertegas pendapat dari kedua narasumber. Sedangkan, kesempatan berbicara Dini Shanti Purwono dan Maqdir Ismail sebagai pihak yang dianggap tidak mewakili masyarakat tidak begitu terlihat karena ditempatkan di akhir segmen. Jika Najwa Shihab memberikan pertanyaan pada keduanya di tengah segmen, maka Kurnia Ramadhana dan Boyamin Saiman akan diberikan kesempatan menanggapi.

Dengan skema tersebut, Mata Najwa mencoba memberikan pemahaman kepada khalayak bahwa pendapat Dini Shanti Purwono dan Maqdir Ismail merupakan pendapat minoritas.

Struktur Skrip dalam episode *talkshow* ini berusaha memberikan porsi yang lebih pada unsur *what*, *why*, dan *how*. Unsur *what* secara garis besar dapat terlihat dari pernyataan Najwa Shihab selaku pembawa acara dalam menyampaikan topik bahasan di awal segmen.

> *"…Gebyar diskon hukuman untuk para koruptor terjadi di tengah pandemi, inilah yang dipertontonkan di depan publik saat rakyat biasa harus menghadapi kriminalisasi kekerasan dan hukuman yang tidak masuk akal"(Najwa Shihab, segmen 1)*

Sedangkan, ketiga unsur lainnya sekaligus dapat dilihat dari pemaparan fakta dan pendapat yang disampaikan oleh narasumber dari sudut pandang masing-masing.

Jika dilihat dari struktur tematik, terdapat tiga tema yang berusaha ditonjolkan oleh Mata Najwa dalam episode ini. *Pertama*, tren remisi hukuman koruptor. Hal ini ditampilkan dari keseluruhan diskusi dan ditekankan dalam beberapa segmen khusus yang membahas perjalanan kasus Pinangki Sirna Malasari, Djoko Chandra, serta Juliari Peter Batubara sebagai koruptor yang mendapatkan diskon dan keringanan hukuman. Penggunaan kata "gebyar diskon" memiliki makna bahwa hal remisi dilakukan terhadap banyak terpidana koruptor. Terminologi ini mampu memberikan kesan negatif pada lembaga peradilan yang memberikan remisi kepada banyak terpidana. *Kedua*, perbandingan hukuman bagi para elit dan rakyat biasa yang ditampilkan melalui diskusi mendalam Najwa Shihab dengan Isma Khaira, Tri Ariadi Rahmat, Hasnia, serta Eny Rochayati sebagai narasumber dari perwakilan masyarakat yang dirugikan. *Ketiga*, pertanyaan mengenai konsistensi presiden dalam menangani kasus korupsi. Hal tersebut dapat dilihat dari satu segmen khusus yang diskusinya didominasi oleh Najwa Shihab dan Dini Shanti Purwono.

Struktur retoris pada *talkshow* ini terlihat dari penggunaan metafora, grafis, *videotape* (VT), serta pemberian label. Adapun metafora yang ditampilkan, diantaranya : mengapa hukum masih juga tumpul kepada para elit, gelagat keadilan sedang menjauh dari sebuah negeri, serta metafora gelas setengah penuh, gelas setengah kosong, gelas kosong, bahkan gelas pecah yang dianalogikan sebagai kinerja pemerintah dalam menangani kasus korupsi. Peneliti melihat bahwa metafora-metafora yang tersaji menyoroti kinerja pemerintah dan penegak hukum yang dianggap tidak dapat diapresiasi dalam menangani kasus korupsi.

Gambar-gambar yang ditampilkan berupa tangkapan layar mengenai pemberitaan diskon hukuman koruptor dari berbagai media, *meme* Djoko Tjandra dan Pinangki Sirna Malasari, serta komentar netizen di sosial media mengenai peristiwa ini. Adapun VT yang ditampilkan, antara lain : cuplikan pernyataan ketua KPK terkait hukuman mati bagi terpidana korupsi di tengah bencana, warga yang menuntut kasus korupsi bansos, persidangan koruptor yang

diedit dengan musik parodi, serta video grafis penggambaran perjalanan kasus beberapa narasumber yang mendapatkan diskriminasi perlakuan hukum.

Selain itu, Mata Najwa juga memberikan label kepada narasumber Isma Khaira sebagai "Ibu Bayi yang Terjerat UU ITE". Peneliti menilai bahwa Mata Najwa ingin mengangkat sisi sosial dengan menggambarkan narasumber sebagai perwakilan dari para perempuan di Indonesia yang mendapatkan ketidakadilan hukum, berbanding terbalik dengan Pinangki Sirna Malasari yang diberikan diskon hukuman oleh hakim dengan pertimbangan sebagai seorang ibu dan memiliki anak kecil.

Langkah Mundur Pemberantasan Korupsi di Indonesia

Dilihat dari analisis pada struktur sintaksis, *headline* yang digunakan oleh *talkshow* Satu Meja The Forum "Obral Diskon Hukuman Koruptor" cenderung bersifat general. *Headline* yang digunakan oleh program ini cukup objektif dengan tidak memberikan pandangan dari perorangan atau institusi tertentu. *Headline* tersebut berupaya menggambarkan informasi kepada khalayak bahwa sedang terjadi krisis sistem peradilan di Indonesia yaitu maraknya pengurangan hukuman bagi para koruptor dengan berbagai dalih.

Saat berjalannya diskusi, peneliti melihat bahwa Budiman Tanuredjo selaku pembawa acara, menekankan isu dengan beberapa kali mengutip pernyataan narasumber, seperti kalimat harapan palsu, *gimmick* atau permainan citra, dan gagal menjalankan fungsinya, dimana kalimat-kalimat tersebut disampaikan oleh Bivitri Susanti dan Benny Harman dalam pembahasan mengenai perubahan arah pemberantasan korupsi oleh pemerintah, KPK, serta pengadilan di Indonesia.

Dalam menyusun fakta, Satu Meja The Forum berusaha untuk menampilkannya dengan alur atau skema tertentu melalui pertanyaan dan pemberian kesempatan pada narasumber untuk menyampaikan pandangan mereka. Dalam *talkshow*, kesempatan berbicara pertama kali diberikan kepada Ali Fikri sebagai juru bicara KPK untuk mengklarifikasi kinerja lembaga ini terkait kasus korupsi bansos oleh Juliari Peter Batubara, yang dinilai sebagai langkah mundur KPK dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Sama halnya dengan bagaimana pogram ini menyusun suatu fakta mengenai tren sikap hakim banding di Pengadilan Tinggi DKI Jakarta terkait maraknya pengurangan hukuman koruptor. Pertanyaan serta pemberian kesempatan bicara pertama diberikan kepada Miko Ginting sebagai juru bicara Komisi Yudisial (KY). Selanjutnya, atas keterangan atau klarifikasi yang diberikan oleh pihak KPK dan KY, Budiman Tanuredjo akan memberikan kesempatan untuk Bivitri Susanti dan Benny Harman menanggapi.

Dalam berjalannya diskusi, pengulangan pertanyaan mengenai masalah yang sama dilakukan oleh pembawa acara. Uraian pendapat yang disampaikan oleh Ali Fikri dan Miko Ginting dipudarkan dengan mencoba menekankan pendapat dari Bivitri Susanti dan Beny Harman sebagai narasumber yang memiliki pandangan berbeda dengan pihak KPK dan KY. Budiman Tanuredjo selaku pembawa acara juga memberikan

probing atau pertanyaan beruntun kepada Ali Fikri dan Miko Ginting yang peneliti lihat sebagai ketidakpuasannya atas jawaban dari kedua narasumber tersebut.

Meskipun begitu, peneliti melihat bahwa Satu Meja The Forum berupaya untuk tidak menciptakan keberpihakan dengan tetap mendukung KPK dan KY dalam menangani permasalahan remisi hukuman koruptor. Di akhir segmen, Ali Fikri dan Miko Ginting diberikan kesempatan untuk memaparkan tindakan dalam mengawasi dan memberantas kasus korupsi di Indonesia, demi mengembalikan kepercayaan masyarakat.

> *"...Bung Miko, ini kan komisi yudisial kewenangannya berbasis konstitusi. Apa yang akan dilakukan oleh komisi yudisial untuk minimal pemberantasan korupsi tetap menjadi semangat atau elan dari pemerintah yang ada sekarang ini?"(Budiman Tanuredjo, Segmen 4)*

> *"…Bung banyak masyarakat yang pesimis dengan pemberantasan korupsi, tingkat kepercayaan pada KPK juga dalam tren turun, apa yang akan dilakukan oleh KPK?"(Budiman Tanuredjo, segmen 4)*

Hal tersebut juga dipertegas dengan pernyataan Budiman Tanuredjo di akhir segmen, yang menyatakan bahwa permasalahan tren pemberian remisi hukuman koruptor ini terjadi akibat adanya oknum.

> *"Mata air keadilan itu, kini sedang dikotori oknum penegak hukum, butuh komitmen baru untuk membersihkan mata air keadilan" (Budiman Tanuredjo, segmen 4)*

Struktur skrip pada program *talkshow* ini ditekankan pada unsur *what*, *why*, dan *how*. Unsur *what* secara general dapat dilihat saat Budiman Tanuredjo memberikan pernyataan di awal segmen untuk menginformasikan bahasan dalam episode ini.

> *"Apa yang tengah terjadi dengan semangat pemberantasan korupsi di negeri ini?..."(Budiman Tanuredjo, segmen 1)*

Sedangkan, ketiga unsur secara keseluruhan dapat dilihat dari pernyataan masing-masing narasumber yang mewakili pandangan masyarakat maupun pemerintah.

Jika dilihat dari struktur tematik, program *talkshow* ini merujuk pada dua tema besar yang ditonjolkan. *Pertama*, melemahnya keseriusan KPK dalam menangani kasus korupsi. Satu Meja the Forum mencoba menekankan informasi pada berita aktual sebagai respon terhadap tuntutan yang diberikan oleh KPK atas pernyataan Firli Bahuri mengenai hukuman mati bagi terpidana kasus korupsi di tengah bencana. *Kedua*, tren remisi hukuman koruptor di Indonesia. Tema ini ditampilkan melalui rincian berbagai fakta mengenai perjalanan kasus koruptor yang mendapatkan keringanan hukuman, perbandingan hukuman koruptor sekarang dengan era Soeharto dan dipertegas dengan pandangan yang disampaikan oleh Bivitri Susanti serta Benny Harman terkait pihak KPK dan lembaga kehakiman yang dinilai gagal menjalankan fungsinya.

Struktur retoris pada *talkshow* ini ditampilkan melalui penggunaan metafora, infografis serta videotape (VT). Adapun metafora yang ditampilkan dalam *talkshow* ini, diantaranya : pemberantasan korupsi

di negeri ini semakin jauh panggang dari api, korupsi justru ramai-ramai di kebiri, publik teriak karena rasa keadilan publik tercederai, hukum yang tegak adalah mata air bagi keadilan, serta hukum yang bengkok atau dibengkokkan kian menjauhkan bangsa ini dari cita-cita negara hukum yang demokratis. Berdasarkan metafora-metafora tersebut, peneliti melihat bahwa Satu Meja The Forum berupaya menyoroti semangat pemberantasan korupsi yang semakin menurun karena terdapat oknum yang tidak bertanggung jawab dalam pemerintahan, KPK, serta lembaga kehakiman.

Infografis yang ditampilkan merupakan rangkuman mengenai perjalanan kasus koruptor yang dibuat oleh tim Satu Meja The Forum. Sedangkan, gambar dan VT yang ditampilkan meliputi pernyataan ketua KPK mengenai hukuman mati bagi terpidana kasus korupsi di tengah bencana, penangkapan dan proses persidangan Pinangki Sirna Malasari, Djoko Tjandra, serta Juliari Peter Batubara. Namun, VT yang paling sering ditampilkan selama berjalannya diskusi adalah video penangkapan serta persidangan Juliari Peter Batubara. Dengan begitu, terlihat bahwa Satu Meja The Forum berupaya mengkonstruksi realitas dalam diskusi yang mengarah pada KPK sebagai pihak yang terlibat secara langsung.

Sebagai bagian dari *talkshow* berita di Indonesia, baik Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum menjalankan *framing* terhadap pemberitaan yang mereka angkat. Dalam pemberitaan pengurangan hukuman koruptor, terlihat bahwa kedua *talkshow* ini mengkonstruksi realitas yang berbeda sesuai dengan tujuan masing-masing. Sebelum informasi disebarkan dan dikonsumsi oleh khalayak, kedua media menjalankan kegiatan *gatekeeping* atau memfokuskan proses pencarian sampai pengelolaan berita oleh tim redaksi. Kegiatan *gatekeeping* ini biasanya didasari pada *value* atau nilai budaya yang menjadi dasar tiap-tiap media (Hutagalung, 2016)

Berdasarkan episode yang menjadi fokus penelitian kali ini, Mata Najwa sebagai bagian dari Narasi.tv yakni salah satu *platform* media digital di Indonesia masih bekerjasama dengan Trans 7 . Namun, pihak Trans 7 hanya menjadi pelaksana produksi dan memberikan masukan dari sisi *entertainment*. Sedangkan, riset dan konten merupakan tanggung jawab Narasi. tv. Dalam memproduksi konten, Narasi.tv memiliki tiga *value* atau nilai budaya yang mereka usung, diantaranya : antikorupsi, toleransi, serta partisipasi. Dengan begitu, dalam menjalankan kegiatan *gatekeeping* dan memproduksi konten pada setiap episodenya, Mata Najwa berpedoman pada nilai-nilai budaya Narasi.tv sebagai media pembawanya.

Jika dikaitkan dengan episode yang diteliti, nilai antikorupsi dan kolaborasi terlihat lebih dominan. Mata Najwa sendiri konsisten untuk memberikan informasi mengenai isu korupsi yang dilakukan oleh pejabat negara bahkan korupsi dalam bentuk pungutan liar (pungli) yang melibatkan masyarakat (Munanjar et al., 2022). Disisi lain, nilai kolaborasi tercermin dari adanya komunitas Mata Kita yang dibentuk oleh Narasi.tv. Komunitas ini merupakan tempat bagi anak muda khususnya penonton Mata Najwa yang tersebar hampir di seluruh wilayah Indonesia. Salah satu kegiatan yang

dilakukan oleh anggota komunitas Mata Kita adalah diskusi mengenai permasalahan sosial politik, seperti isu korupsi. Dengan begitu, nilai antikorupsi dan kolaborasi merepresentasikan bahwa Mata Najwa menjalankan perannya sebagai pengawas terhadap pemerintah khususnya dalam meningkatkan kesadaran akan pentingnya perilaku antikorupsi itu sendiri.

Sementara, Satu Meja The Forum merupakan produk Kompas TV yang tergabung dalam Kompas Gramedia Group. Kompas TV yang mendeklarasikan diri sebagai televisi berita ini memiliki komitmen menjadi media yang independen dan terpercaya (*About Us - Kompas TV,* n.d.). Dalam menjalankan kegiatan *gatekeeping*, Satu Meja The Forum juga berdasar pada *value* atau nilai budaya yang diusung oleh Kompas TV sebagai media pembawanya. Jika dikaitkan dengan episode yang diteliti, nilai independen tercermin dari upaya Satu Meja The Forum untuk *cover both side* dengan menciptakan diskusi yang berimbang atau tidak memihak. Sementara, nilai terpercaya tercermin dari profesionalisme serta kesesuaian pemilihan narasumber dengan isu yang dibahas.

Pada dasarnya, konstruksi realitas dalam media massa dibentuk dari pemilihan dan penentuan narasumber, sudut pandang, serta penggambaran peristiwa (Boer et al., 2020). Dalam episode "Keadilan Bersyarat Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia" Mata Najwa menghadirkan 8 narasumber, diantaranya : Kurnia Ramadhana (Peneliti ICW), Boyamin Saiman (Koordinator Masyarakat Anti Korupsi Indonesia), Isma Khaira (Ibu Bayi yang Terjerat UU ITE), Tri Ariadi Rahmat (Kuasa Hukum Hardianti dari PBH PERADI Makassar), Nenek Hasnia (Ibu Hardianti), Eny Rochayati (Perwakilan Rakyat Penggugat Bansos), Maqdir Ismail (Kuasa Hukum Juliari Batubara), serta Dini Shanti Purwono (Staf Khusus Presiden Bidang Hukum). Sedangkan, dalam episode "Diskon Hukuman Koruptor" Satu Meja The Forum menghadirkan 4 narasumber, diantaranya : Ali Fikri (Juru Bicara KPK), Miko Ginting (Juru Bicara Komisi Yudisial), Benny Harman (Anggota Komisi III DPR RI Fraksi Partai Demokrat), dan Bivitri Susanti (Pegiat Antikorupsi dan Dosen STH Indonesia Jentera).

Berdasarkan pemilihan dan perbandingan kuantitas narasumber yang dihadirkan, terlihat jelas bahwa Mata Najwa menunjukkan keberpihakannya pada masyarakat. Sedangkan, Satu Meja The Forum berupaya untuk menciptakan diskusi yang berimbang. Hal tersebut sesuai dengan penelitian terdahulu dengan judul *"The Construction Mata Najwa Program on Episode "Gerabak-Gerubuk Urus Pagebluk in Trans 7 "* oleh (Salsabila, n.d.). Penelitian yang membahas mengenai pilkada di tengah pandemi ini, memperlihatkan bahwa Mata Najwa menunjukkan sikap kontranya terhadap kebijakan pemerintah yang dianggap merugikan masyarakat. Hal tersebut diamati dari kuantitas narasumber hingga jalannya diskusi. Disisi lain, Hasil tersebut juga sesuai dengan temuan (Firda & Mulharnetti, 2017) dimana Kompas TV memberitakan kasus korupsi *E-KTP* dengan netral atau tidak memihak.

Lebih lanjut, baik Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum mengambil sudut pandang dan menekankan pemberitaan yang berbeda terhadap permasalahan remisi hukuman koruptor. Mata Najwa cenderung mengangkat sisi sosial ketimbang pedoman hukum. Keberpihakannya terhadap masyarakat dilihat dari bagaimana Najwa Shihab menekankan premis pertanyaan pada ironi dengan mengkomparasikan penerimaan

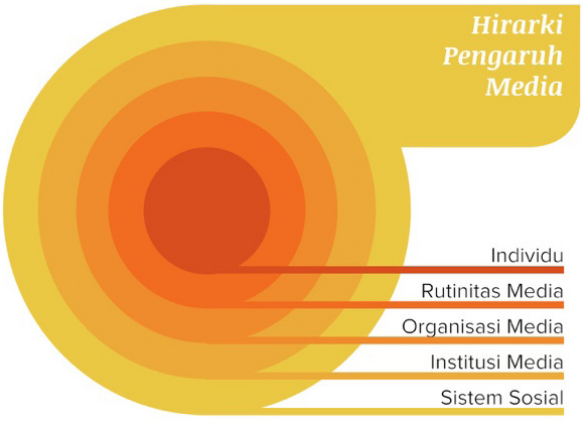
hukuman terhadap petinggi negeri dan masyarakat biasa. Mohammad Andica Haradi, selaku produser Mata Najwa menyatakan bahwa *talkshow* ini merupakan ujung tombak pemberitaan, Mata Najwa bukan hanya menjadi pengawas bagi pemerintah. Namun, ingin membuat setiap orang yang menonton tayangan ini merasa perlu untuk mengambil tindakan.

Disisi lain, Satu Meja The Forum menekankan pemberitaan pada permasalahan politik dan pedoman hukum. Jika Mata Najwa secara terang-terangan menunjukkan keberpihakannya pada masyarakat dan menyudutkan pihak yang dianggap bertanggung jawab. Satu Meja The Forum berupaya untuk membangun citra positif KPK dan KY dengan memberikan kesempatan berbicara di akhir segmen. Hasil tersebut juga sesuai dengan temuan dalam penelitian (Anzari & Fariza, 2021) dimana Kompas TV mengkonstruksi citra positif pemerintah dan KPK dalam pemberitaan korupsi dana bantuan sosial Covid-19. Johar Arief selaku produser Satu Meja The Forum menerangkan bahwa *talkshow* ini memang berfokus pada pembahasan hukum dan seiring berjalannya waktu permasalahan politik juga semakin diminati masyarakat. Selain berfungsi sebagai pengawas bagi pemerintah, peneliti melihat bahwa Satu Meja The Forum menjadi tempat bagi masyarakat untuk mendengarkan argumentasi dari masing-masing pihak politik mengenai isu yang dibahas. Dalam beberapa kajian sebelumnya, Kompas sebagai rumah besar Kompas TV dan Satu Meja The Forum mengedepankan aspek humanisme dalam konstruksi yang disajikan (Musyaffa & Romadlan, 2023).

Dalam menjalankan fungsinya sebagai pers, baik Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum memiliki sudut pandang dan tujuan yang mereka yakini benar. Mata Najwa memandang bahwa pers tidak boleh netral dan harus membela pihak yang mereka anggap dirugikan, dalam hal ini adalah masyarakat. Sedangkan, Satu Meja The Forum menjalankan fungsi pers dengan memposisikan diri diantara masyarakat dan pemerintah. Satu Meja The Forum berupaya menjadi masukan bagi pengambil kebijakan dan jembatan masyarakat memperoleh informasi mengenai kinerja pemerintah. Pada dasarnya, *framing* yang menekankan pada kinerja pemerintah untuk mengevaluasi pengabaian prosedur birokrasi secara ilegal akan mempengaruhi cara pemerintah melihat korupsi itu sendiri (Zizumbo Colunga & Meza, 2021).

Pamela J. Shoemaker dan Stephen D. Reese menjelaskan bahwa terdapat faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi isi media, diantaranya : individu jurnalis, rutinitas media, organisasi media, institusi media, serta ideologi (Krisdinanto, 2017).

Gambar 2. Hirarki Pengaruh Media



Sumber:Krisdinanto (2017)

Menurut (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019) pemilik media tidak dapat dipisahkan terhadap tendensi isi media. Kepentingan pemilik dan ekonomi kerap menjadi arah media mengkonstruksi realitas. Dalam Mata Najwa, Najwa Shihab

sebagai pemilik Narasi.tv memiliki peran pemetodenting karena ikut berdiskusi langsung terkait konten yang akan dibahas dalam setiap episodenya. Sedangkan, Satu Meja The Forum menjalankan *self regulation* untuk menjaga objektivitas. Selain itu, dalam memilih isu yang akan diangkat menjadi konten, kedua *talkshow* melihat pada peristiwa yang sedang marak diperbincangkan atau berdampak bagi banyak orang.

Untuk kepentingan ekonomi, keduanya menjalankan konvergensi media. Konvergensi media merupakan proses integrasi yang dilakukan oleh industri media dengan memanfaatkan digitalisasi (Nugroho, 2020). Digitalisasi menyebabkan pola konsumsi media oleh masyarakat berubah. Dengan perubahan ini, media perlu menjalankan konvergensi media untuk menjaga eksistensi dari media itu sendiri.

Dalam hal ini, Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum menjalankan konvergensi menggunakan *multiplatform*. *Talkshow* bukan hanya ditayangkan secara konvensional melalui televisi. Namun, keduanya memanfaatkan sosial media untuk menjalankan konvergensi media ini. Youtube digunakan untuk menayangkan kembali pemberitaan secara penuh. Instagram digunakan sebagai media promosi episode yang akan ditayangkan serta *highlight* pemberitaan versi durasi pendek. Sedangkan, website digunakan untuk menyajikan pemberitaan secara online. Disamping menjalankan perannya sebagai pers karena memberikan kemudahan bagi masyarakat untuk mengetahui informasi, hal tersebut juga merujuk pada kepentingan ekonomi masing-masing. Meskipun begitu, secara garis besar peneliti melihat bahwa Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum tidak semata-mata tunduk pada pemilik media sebagai arah dalam mengkonstruksi pemberitaan.

Meskipun terdapat perbedaan mengenai konstruksi realitas dalam *talkshow* Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum terkait pemberitaan remisi hukuman koruptor. Keduanya sama-sama berupaya untuk menggiring opini publik dengan menanamkan pemahaman mengenai remisi hukuman koruptor sesuai dengan ideologi media masing-masing. Selain itu, keduanya juga menjalankan fungsi media sebagai *watchdog*. *The press is a watchdog. A good watchdog barks at things that are suspicious* (Nai, 2019). Keduanya memiliki cara masing-masing untuk mengkritik dan melakukan pengawasan terhadap lembaga serta pemerintah sebagai pihak-pihak yang dianggap bertanggung jawab terhadap permasalahan diskon hukuman koruptor.

KESIMPULAN

Dalam menyajikan suatu peristiwa setiap media mengkonstruksi realitas. Konstruksi realitas antara media satu dengan yang lainnya dapat berbeda sesuai dengan tujuan dari media itu sendiri. Mata Najwa dan Satu Meja The Forum sebagai media yang diteliti memiliki sudut pandang yang berbeda dalam memberitakan peristiwa diskon hukuman koruptor. Mata Najwa menekankan pemberitaan pada sisi *human interest*, sedangkan Satu Meja The Forum berfokus pada sisi politik dan hukum. Riset mengenai framing Kompas.com pada kasus korupsi dana bantuan sosial menunjukan bahwa media Kompas.

com memberikan penekanan bahwa hukuman mati adalah hukuman yang setimpal (Mulya & Aisyah, 2022).

Konstruksi yang berbeda tersebut menunjukan bahwa sebuah isu yang sama dapat disajikan secara berbeda oleh media massa. Framing media tersebut menunjukan bagaimana ideologi media ditampilkan oleh redaksi melalui produk yang dilakukan. Proses melakukan framing dimulai dari seleksi isu serta penonjolan isu. Dengan demikian, tentunya tidak ada kebenaran mutlak dari setiap konstruksi media. Masing-masing media memiliki orientasi ideologis yang berbeda.

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Perjuangan Jurnalis Lokal dalam Memberitakan Covid-19

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Abstrak

Informasi menjadi kebutuhan primer dalam menghadapi Covid-19. Media lokal merupakan salah satu sumber informasi yang paling dekat dan menguasai permasalahan di masyarakat daerah khususnya di masa pandemi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana jurnalis lokal, sebagai salah satu komunikator dalam komunikasi massa memproduksi pesan untuk mengatasi infodemik selama pandemic Covid-19. Penelitian ini menggunakan Model Hierarki Pengaruh milik Schoemaker dan Reese untuk membedah proses produksi pesan jurnalis lokal. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam selama November 2020 hingga Novermber 2021 dan analisis interaktif. Informna dalam penelitian ini berjumlah delapan orang jurnalis lokal di Soloraya yang berasal dari berbagai jenis media. Temuan dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dalam memproduksi berita di masa pandemi, jurnalis mengalami berbagai hambatan. Hambatan tersebut tersebar di tiga level yakni pertama, personal level yang berkaitan dengan persepsi dan kurangnya pemahaman jurnalis terhadap Covid-19. Kedua routine practice level yang meliputi kurangnya proses verifikasi dan kegagapan penggunaan teknologi. Ketiga, organization level yang berkaitan dengan jaminan kesejahteraan dan keselatan jurnalis yang tidak optimal. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan solusi yakni adanya integrasi teknologi dalam proses produksi berita dan tentu jaminan kesejahteraan jurnalis yang masih menjadi persoalan klasik di Indonesia.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Jurnalis Lokal; Berita ; Hierarchy of Influence; Covid 19*

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Local Journalists Struggle to Communicate COVID-19

Abstract

Information is a primary need in dealing with COVID-19. In this case, local media is one of the closest sources of information and controls problems in local communities, especially during the pandemic. For this reason, this study aims to analyze how local journalists as communicators in mass communication produce messages to overcome the infodemic during the COVID-19 pandemic. This study used Schoemaker and Reese›s hierarchy of influence model to dissect the process of producing messages for local journalists. This study employed qualitative methods through in-depth interviews and interactive analysis. The findings in this study revealed that in producing news during a pandemic, journalists experienced various obstacles. These obstacles were spread across three levels: first, the personal level, which is related to journalists› perception and lack of understanding of COVID-19. The second is the routine practice level, including the lack of a verification process and the stuttering technology use. Third, the organization level is related to guaranteeing the welfare and safety of journalists, which is not optimal. This study recommends a solution for integrating technology in the news production process and guaranteeing journalists› welfare, which is still a classic problem in Indonesia.

Keywords*: Local Journalist ; News ; Hierarchy of Influence ; Covid 19*

PENDAHULUAN

Virus SARS-CoV-2 yang dikenal dengan Covid-19 masuk ke Indonesia pada bulan Maret 2020 (Rahiem & Rahim, 2021). Berbagai kebijakan pemerintah diambil dalam rangka mencegah penyebaran virus tersebut, mulai dari kebijakan kebijakan Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB) hingga *post pandemic*.

Kondisi pandemi yang tidak terprediksi kapan berakhir kemudian menimbulkan tantangan dalam sektor media. Selama pandemic, kebutuhan informasi menjadi salah satu yang tidak bisa dihindari (Hess & Waller, 2021). Masyarakat membutuhkan informasi sebab pandemic ini terbilang baru dan menimbulkan ketidakpastian kebenaran informasi (Krause et al., 2020). Di Indonesia sendiri, masyarakat dalam kelompok remaja, kurangnya Pendidikan dan tidak bekerja masih membutuhkan banyak informasi untuk menumbuhkan kesadaran akan bahaya Covid-19 (Harlianty et al., 2020).

Hambatan yang dihadapi masyarakat adalah munculnya infodemic, yakni informasi berlebih yang dapat memperburuk situasi krisis Covid-19. Misalnya munculnya stigma pada pekerja medis (Krause et al., 2020), penolakan jenazah (Yuwono, 2021) dan lainnya. Dalam penelitian sebelumnya menyatakan media perlu bekerja sama untuk meminimalisir stereotipe yang terjadi di masa pandemi Covid-19 (El-Awaisi et al., 2020).

Berbagai informasi tentang Covid-19 bermunculan di Indonesia. Salah satunya adalah anjuran mengkonsumsi makanan jawa yaitu sayur lodeh. Informasi ini berkembang di Yogyakarta yang mempercayai sayur tersebut sebagai salah satu budaya jawa untuk menangkal Covid-19. Meski sudah dibantah oleh dinas kesehatan, masyarakat masih memercayai informasi tersebut (Rahiem & Rahim, 2021).

Selain itu, media sosial di Indonesia ramai dengan perdebatan tentang kebijakan pemerintah dalam menangani Covid-19. Pada saat itu Pemerintah Indonesia justru memanfaatkan buzzer untuk mendukung kebijakan yang di ambil pemerintah (Syahputra et al., 2021). Hal ini tentu berdampak pada peredaran informasi di media sosial serta kepercayaan masyarakat pada pemerintah yang dinilai tidak mampu membuat kebijakan untuk mengatasi Covid-19.

Media massa berperan besar dalam produksi pesan yang beredar di masyarakat. Media massa juga memiliki tanggung jawab social dalam penanganan krisis ini. Dalam penelitian sebelumnya menunjukkan, konsumsi pemberitaan menjadi faktor yang menentukan bagaimana cara pandang masyarakat terkait dengan upaya kesehatan masyarakat di Amerika Serikat (Dhanani & Franz, 2020).

Di tengah pandemi Covid-19, setelah adanya krisis media, Covid-19 disebut mengubah ekologi media. Hal ini disebabkan kondisi kebijakan *physical distancing*, isolasi mandiri, pembatasan perjalanan dan juga kebutuhan informasi yang meningkat bahkan menjadi kebutuhan primer masyarakat (Casero-Ripollés, 2020). Sementara perusahaan media juga tengah mengalami penurunan pendapatan selama pandemi ini (Pavlik, 2021).

Di sisi jurnalis, Hal tersebut berkaitan dengan berbagai perubahan yang terjadi selama pandemic. Dalam

penelitian sebelumnya menjelaskan ritme kerja jurnalis, jam kerja, penggunaan narasumber yang valid, meningkatnya risiko Kesehatan dan keselamatan jurnalis dan munculnya ancaman pada kebebasan media terkait dengan upaya penyensoran merupakan beberapa perubahan yang dialami industry media selama pandemi. Di India, jurnalisme merupakan bidang yang terdampak oleh Covid-19 sebab adanya pembatasan aktivitas (Singh & Shaheen, 2020). Namun demikian, posisi media massa merupakan hal penting untuk mengurangi ketidakpastian masyarakat dalam menghadapi pandemi. Dalam penelitian sebelumnya di FIlipina, media massa menjadi salah satu ruang yang digunakan untuk menginformasikan perspektif sains terkait dengan Covid-19 untuk mendidik masyarakat (Garcia-Agustin & Agustin, 2021).

Jurnalis termasuk dalam kelompok rentan terdampak Covid-19 bahkan berpotensi menjadi penular yang disebabkan ritme kerja yang memiliki mobilitas tinggi (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen, 2020). Hal tersebut menjadi tantangan tersendiri bagi jurnalis untuk melaksanakan tugasnya dalam proses produksi pesan selama pandemi Covid-19 di tengah infodemic yang tersebar melalui social media.

Pandemi ini merupakan pandemi yang terjadi di seluruh Indonesia. Media lokal sebagai media yang paling dekat dengan masyarakat di daerah. Media lokal dianggap sebagai jawaban atas pemerataan informasi karena pemusatan informasi di media nasional hanya menekankan pada berita-berita nasional (Sari, 2013). Sama halnya dengan media nasional, media lokal juga mengalami permasalahan ekonomi yang sama. Hal ini tentu akan mempengaruhi bagaimana masyarakat di daerah memperoleh informasi. Penelitian ini berupaya untuk menganalisis bagaimana jurnalis lokal di Solo Raya dalam melakukan proses produksi pesan melalui teori hierarki pengaruh.

Dari paparan latar belakang, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana jurnalis lokal di Solo Raya dalam memproduksi pesan di tengah pandemi Covid-19.

KAJIAN PUSTAKA

Media Lokal in Indonesia

Undang-undang nomor 40 tahun 1999 yang didukung oleh undang-undang nomor 32 tahun 2002 menjadi landasan keberadaan media lokal di Indonesia. Dalam undang-undang itu menyebutkan bahwa daerah diberi kebebasan untuk membentuk medianya sendiri. Semangat pemerataan informasi menjadi salah satu urgensi dari keberadaan media lokal.

Jurnalis lokal menjadi kunci dalam penyebaran informasi di daerah. Jurnalis lokal dianggap lebih menguasai permasalahan dari segi sosial, ekonomi, politik dan budaya (Sari, 2013). Dalam penelitian sebelumnya menyebutkan bahwa media surat kabar lokal menjadi perekat masyarakat lokal sebab memiliki kedekatan informasi yang sangat kuat (Olsen et al., 2020). Indonesia sebagai negara demokrasi mensyaratkan otonomisasi daerah, hal ini berimbas pula pada kondisi media di Indonesia. Media lokal memiliki karakteristik yang lebih dekat dengan masyarakat di daerah. Namun demikian, kondisi media lokal justru dihantam

krisis yang tak terhindarkan terutama saat pandemi berlangsung. Berbagai media lokal terpaksa tutup dan tidak lagi beroperasi.

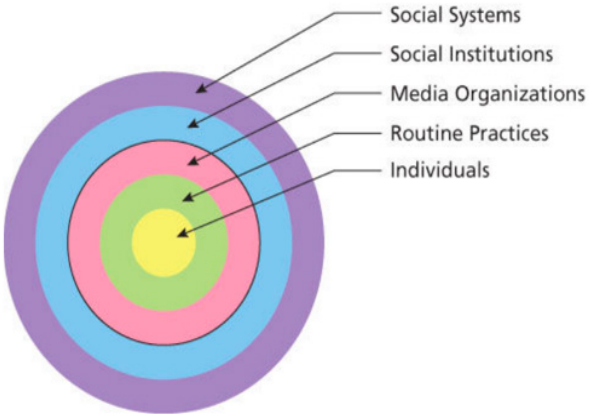
Penelitian pada media lokal masih jarang dilakukan. Padahal, media lokal menjadi tumpuan utama dalam pemberian informasi pada masyarakat khususnya di wilayah non metropolitan sebab masih ada kesenjangan literasi dan digital khususnya pada saat krisis (Hess & Waller, 2021). Media lokal diperlukan untuk memberikan informasi bagi masyarakat yang terpinggirkan secara geografis. Namun di sisi lain, kesejahteraan jurnalis di media lokal lebih rendah dibandingkan dengan jurnalis di kota besar (Napoli et al., 2019).Hal ini serupa dengan yang terjadi di Amerika, dimana krisis ekonomi yang dialami media berimbas pada kondisi di media lokal serta pemberitaannya. Sementara di India, media lokal menjadi *publicsphere* yang memperdebatkan ideologis, branding pemimpin serta media perjuangan masyarakat lokal untuk mendapatkan solusi atas permasalahan yang dihadapi (Gulyas & Baines, 2020).

Hierarchy of Influence Theory

Hierarchy of Influence Theory merupakan teori yang disusun oleh Shoemaker dan Reese berdasarkan penelitian mereka. Teori ini membahas tentang bagaimana pesan dalam media massa dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor yang bersifat hierarki (Reese, 2001; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016).

Shoemaker dan Reese menetapkan sebuah kerangka teoritik untuk menganalisis proses produksi pesan dalam media massa. Tingkatan analisis tersebut dibagi menjadi dua ranah besar, yakni tingkatan mikro dan makro. Dalam kedua tingkatan tersebut terdapat sub tingkatan yakni *individual, routines, organizations, social institution* dan *social system* (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Kelima tingkatan tersebut merupakan tingkatan yang berjenjang dimana individual level merupakan level yang paling kecil sementara social system merupakan sistem yang sangat luas.

Gambar 1 : Model *Hierarchy of Influences*



Sumber: (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014)

Penelitian ini fokus pada jurnalis sebagai komunikator sebagai ujung tombak produksi media. Hal ini menyebabkan, penelitian hanya fokus pada tiga level yang berkaitan dengan jurnalis yakni *individuals, routine practice level* dan *media organization level.*

Pertama, *Individual level* diartikan Shoemaker dan Reese sebagai tingkatan yang yang fokus pada individu jurnalis. Level ini mencakup persepsi, sikap, latar belakang serta nilai-nilai yang dipercaya oleh jurnalis (Reese, 2007).

Kedua yakni *Routine Level* merupakan level yang fokus pada proses produksi pemberitaan yang dilakukan oleh jurnalis mulai dari pencarian informasi. penulisan berita hingga verifikasi berita dan proses ditribusinya (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016).

Level ketiga yakni *Organizational Level* yang merupakan proses produksi pemberitaan di organisasi media. Dalam level ini mencakup proses kebijakan redaksi mencakup *filtering* dalam pemberitaan dan bagaimana budaya kerja organisasi media.

The Hierarchy of Influences ini kerap digunakan untuk menganalisis bagaimana jurnalis bekerja melalui proses produksi konten media. Dalam penelitian sebelumnya, teori ini dapat mengidentifikasi faktor-faktor yang berpengaruh pada jurnalis pada masa transisi demokrasi di Serbia (Milojević & Krstić, 2018). Sementara penelitian lain menggunakan teori ini untuk menjelaskan bagaimana proses produksi pesan oleh jurnalis di masa krisis yakni saat munculnya hoax di tengan bencana gempa bumi di Palu, Indonesia pada tahun 2018 lalu (Kwanda & Lin, 2020).

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Teknik pengambilan data dilakukan melalui wawancara dengan informan.

Informan dalam penelitian ini berjumlah delapan orang yang berasal dari berbagai jenis media baik cetak, televisi dan online. Informan memiliki lingkup media yang berbeda-beda, meski demikian seluruh informan merupakan jurnalis lokal yang bertugas di Solo Raya. Informan tersebut diambil berdasarkan Teknik purposive sampling. Kategori dalam penentuan sampel dalam penelitian ini adalah jenis media dan lama bekerja sebagai jurnalis.

Tabel 1. Informan Penelitian

KODE Informan	Jenis Media	Lama Bekerja (Tahun)
Informan 1	Media Cetak	8
Informan 2	Media Online	3
Informan 3	Media Online	8
Informan 4	Media Cetak	7
Informan 5	Televisi	16
Informan 6	Televisi	7
Informan 7	Media Online	8
Informan 8	Media Cetak Dan Online	14

Sumber : Hasil Penelitian

Analisis interaktif digunakan sebagai teknik analisis data yang mencakup reduksi data, data display and penarikan kesimpulan. Sementara validitas data diperoleh dengan menggunakan triangulasi sumber.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Jurnalis lokal sebagai salah satu komunikator dalam media massa memiliki peran yang kuat dalam memberikan informasi yang berkualitas pada masyarakat. Dalam kinerjanya, jurnalis didorong untuk terus update terhadap informasi yang berkembang khususnya informasi terkait dengan Covid-19 dengan cepat pada masyarakat. Selain cepat, jurnalis juga harus menjaga kualitas berita dengan senantiasa melakukan verifikasi dengan memberikan informasi yang lengkap yaitu dengan melakukan reportase ke berbagai sumber.

Penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa Jurnalis lokal di Solo Raya memiliki berbagai pengalaman di masa pandemi saat memproduksi berita dalam berbagai level. Pertama, yaitu *Individual Level* yang merupakan area yang berkait dengan tantangan yang dihadapi oleh jurnalis

dalam peliputan Covid-19 yang dihadapi jurnalis secara personal. Persepsi jurnalis terhadap Covid-19 dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sebagian jurnalis justru tidak menganggap Covid-19 sebagai sesuatu yang besar dan lebih menyerahkan pada Tuhan sebagai solusi untuk menghadapinya.

> *"Covid-19 terlalu dibesar-besarkan. Sebenarnya hanya cukup imun dan iman, mendekat pada Tuhan,". (Informan 5)*

> *"Dalam masa pandemi ini, dengan ketidaktahuan info yang benar dan segala pembatasan, perlu kita kembali ke agama. Agar kita tidak terlalu khawatir, mau bagaimana pun takdir dan keputusan Tuhan yang menentukan". (Informan 1)*

Sementara sebagian lainnya menyatakan Covid-19 merupakan sesuatu yang serius bagi masyarakat.

> *"Saya tinggal bersama orang tua, lingkungan pun banyak yang positif Covid-19 jadi ya saya tidak mau ambil resiko. Takut iya, di lingkungan saya masih belum taat, masih banyak acara padahal waktu itu kasus positif sedang tinggi". (Informan 8)*

> *"Kebetulan saya tinggal di lingkungan yang sangat mendukung untuk mencegah Covid-19. Jadi saya tidak kesulitan kalau harus di rumah dan tidak kemana-mana. Awal Covid-19 saya full di rumah, setelah kondisi kondusif baru liputan secara offline". (Informan 7)*

> *"Setelah lebih dari dua tahun ini, motivasinya lebih memberi tahu masyarakat agar lebih tertib prokes, karena meski percaya nggak percaya, aku yang di lapangan ya percaya". (Informan 4)*

> *"Ingin berikan informasi saja biar lebih jelas. Biar nggak ada simpang siur di masyarakat. Karena kadang masyarakat tahunya kan A, B, C, tapi samar. Saya ingin beritakan itu supaya jelas, sumbernya juga jelas. Informasi di media sosial kan belum tentu kepastiannya, dalam arti bisa benar atau nggak". (Informan 2)*

Meski memiliki perbedaan persepsi tersebut, jurnalis lokal di Soloraya masih melakukan peliputan berita Covid-19. Hal ini terjadi sebab adanya permintaan dari perusahaan media untuk mengawal kondisi Covid-19 dan percaya bahwa masyarakat membutuhkan informasi tersebut.

Persepsi tersebut kemudian berhubungan dengan persepsi pemberitaan tentang Covid-19 yang diproduksi oleh jurnalis. Jurnalis mempersepsikan pemberitaan tentang Covid-19 merupakan hal yang dilematis. Di satu sisi, tuntutan dari pihak luar yang meminta jurnalis untuk terus update tentang Covid-19 di wilayah Solo Raya, sementara di sisi lain jurnalis merasa pemberitaan dapat menyebabkan kepanikan bagi masyarakat dan kebosanan bagi diri sendiri. Hal ini senada dengan penelitian lain yang menemukan adanya dampak traumatis dengan derajat yang berbeda yang disebabkan oleh pemberitaan tentang Covid-19 (Liu & Liu, 2020).

> *"Berita seperti itu bisa saja membuat masyarakat makin khawatir atau malah*

panik. Kita tahu bahwa imun merupakan hal yang penting apalagi jika sudah terinfeksi". (Informan 3).

> *"Memberitakan kasus positif atau meninggal juga sedikit membosankan. Karena setiap hari itu-itu saja anglenya. Data tersebut data yang dikirimkan setiap sore di press release satgas ".(Informan 8).*

Sikap jurnalis terhadap Covid-19 ditunjukkan melalui upaya-upaya peliputan tentang Covid-19. Dalam penelitian lain, disebutkan bahwa liputan Covid-19 masih didominasi oleh ketakutan, kesuraman dan kehati-hatian (Ogbodo et al., 2020). Faktor lain yang terungkap dalam hasil wawancara menunjukkan bahwa kurangnya pengetahuan soal Covid-19 ini menjadi salah satu permasalahan serius yang dialami. Pengetahuan yang terbatas ini juga disebabkan oleh latar belakang jurnalis yang tidak berhubungan dengan dunia kesehatan.

> *"Kalau nemu istilah asing atau kata baru dalam berita covid, saya tanya teman wartawan lain. Sejak itu saya belajar nyari rujukan sendiri. Karena mungkin ini virus baru dan latar belakang saya jauh dengan dunia medis". (Informan 7)*

> *"Tidak ada bekal entah itu pelatihan atau seminar bagaimana memberitakan kondisi pandemi Covid-19 atau wabah lainnya". (Informan 5)*

Penelitian lain di Pakistan, kemampuan jurnalis meliput situasi krisis Covid-19 pun menjadi salah satu faktor yang menghambat pekerjaan jurnalis dalam menyebarkan informasi kesehatan (Shah et al., 2020). Upaya berdiskusi dengan rekan untuk tetap memberitakan Covid-19 menjadi hal penting dalam penelitian ini untuk idealisme dari diri jurnalis. Adanya rasa tanggung jawab untuk terus memberitakan kasus-kasus Covid-19 menjadi idealisme jurnalis dalam penelitian ini.

> *"Salah satu fungsi media mainstream ya melawan hoax itu. Hoax kan muncul setelah media sosial rame. Ketika medsos ramai, muncul sak karepe dewe, berita kapan diunggah kapan, itu kan menimbulkan gejolak di masyarakat Itulah fungsi2 jurnalistik harus dilakukan. (Informan 4)*

Kedua yakni *Routine Practice level* dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dalam kesehariannya, jurnalis local menggunakan masker untuk keselamatan saat berada di lapangan sesuai dengan protokol kesehatan. Proses produksi pemberitaan selama pembatasan aktivitas di Indonesia hanya bertahan sekitar tiga bulan. Tak sampai empat bulan, jurnalis Kembali ke lapangan untuk melakukan reportase secara langsung. Hal ini dilakukan sebab jurnalis merasa tidak yakin dengan reportase yang hanya melalui telepon di rumah dan narasumber yang tidak bisa dikonfirmasi melalui telepon atau daring.

> *"Saya termasuk yang kesulitan jika liputan hanya telepon saja, jadi lebih baik saya langsung bertemu agar informasi jelas". (Informan 5)*

> *"Lebih pusing lagi kalau satgasnya nggak bisa ditelepon, trus narasumber yang susah dikonfirmasi. Pernah juga pas ada kasus besar, narasumber nggak*

berani kasih statemen, limpahkan ke satgas, satgasnya nggak bisa dihubungi". (Informan 4)

Hal ini berbeda dengan penelitian sebelumnya yang menyatakan Jurnalis di Asia merasa ketakutan terinfeksi sehingga hanya menjadi jurnalis *non-participatory observer* dan *remote reporter* (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2020). Dalam penelitian ini, kebiasaan dalam melakukan liputan secara langsung sulit diubah bukan hanya dari sisi jurnalis namun dari sisi narasumber. Meski demikian, jurnalis masih memperhatikan protokol kesehatan.

"Prinsipnya kita lebih berhati2. Kita harus tahu misal kalau narasumber terpapar Covid-19. Karena itu menurutku ada risikonya. Jika seperti itu ya saya menghindari, tidak usah liputan hal itu". (Informan 4)

"Iya, pasti takut di masa awal pandemic, sampai sekitar tiga bulan. Tapi lama kelamaan, sampai sekarang, karena sudah terbiasa. Yang penting jaga kondisi sendiri selama pandemic, pola makan ya beda, paling tambah jahe, dan lain-lain. Yakin imunnya masih kuat. Dan tetap jalankan protokol (pakai masker dan bawa hand sanitizer), meski kantor nggak ngasih". (Informan 3)

Dalam penelitian ini jurnalis tidak mengalami ketakutan saat kembali ke lapangan. Hal ini berhubungan dengan kondisi ekonomi jurnalis yang membutuhkan pemasukan, sebab sebagian besar jurnalis merupakan jurnalis berstatus kontributor yang tidak memiliki gaji tetap.

"Soal takut nggak bisa bekerja lagi? Lha itu yang bikin aku takut aslinya ya Cuma itu. Misal positif kan jadi gak bisa kerja, harus isoman, terus, yang memberi makan siapa nanti?" (Informan 6)

Proses produksi pemberitaan dibagi menjadi beberapa tahap. Tahap pertama adalah mengumpulkan informasi. Dalam hal ini rutinitas jurnalis berubah dalam kesehariannya sebab adanya pembatasan aktivitas. Dalam melaksanakan profesinya, jurnalis masih melakukan wawancara secara langsung hingga doorstop meski terkendala teknologi.

"Tapi kadang juga bingung, kalau wawancara jaraknya terlalu jauh, suara narsum di rekaman nggak terlalu jelas. Doorstop kan nggak bisa diulang lagi statemennya, terutama buat yang liputan video. "(Informan 7)

Tak hanya kendala teknologi dari jurnalis, kendala teknologi dari narasumber pun terjadi. Selama pandemi, jurnalis menyatakan belum ada forum daring yang ditawarkan atau disediakan pemerintah, satgas atau narasumber yang lain.

"Telepon kadang narasumber juga kalau sudah berkali-kali di telepon jawabnya singkat. Makanya yaa praktiknya biasanya kita kalua wawancara nebeng, narasumber sudah paham kalau infonya dipakai di beberapa media, nggak hanya yang telepon". (informan 4)

Jurnalis selalu mendapatkan informasi terupdate dari Satgas Covid-19 terkait dengan jumlah kasus Covid-19 namun merasa kesulitan dalam menuliskan dan mencari angle pemberitaan dari data senada yang diterima setiap hari.

"Tiap hari ada excel soal bagaimana update kasus Covid-19. Misal tanpa

wawancara bisa lah. Data yang detail sampai perkelurahan di share. Tapi penambahan itu kan udah segitu banyak jadi kita juga udah kesulitan angle". (Informan 8)

Data press release menjadi data yang penting bagi jurnalis. Hal ini disebabkan adanya kesulitan dalam mencari data saat pandemi. Sebagian besar narasumber dari dinas pun sudah menerapkan *work from home,* sementara itu ada beberapa data yang sulit didapatkan oleh jurnalis khususnya data-data yang tidak ada dalam press release.

"Data keterisian bed di rumah sakit dan di tempat isolasi mandiri itu juga susah diakses, padahal itu penting. Tanpa ada kejelasan data keterisian bed di RS, bukan hanya jurnalis yang bingung, mungkin para relawan juga kebingungan (ketika hendak merujuk pasien)". (Informan 3)

"Sumber penularan juga sulit diakses. Tidak diberikan kronologis atau cerita detailnya. Apakah gara-gara kasusnya terlalu banyak sehingga mereka kewalahan atau memang ditutup-tutupi, itu kami tidak tahu". (Informan 2).

Dalam penelitian ini, jurnalis berupaya untuk berada di lapangan. Namun, saat berada di lapangan jurnalis justru menemukan kesulitan dalam pencarian data. Sebagian besar jurnalis tetap menggunakan wawancara melalui telepon untuk memperolah data liputan. Wawancara melalui telepon ini memiliki banyak keterbatasan.

Dalam tahap kedua yakni, penulisan berita, jurnalis tidak memiliki perbedaan berarti saat bertugas di masa pandemi. Kemudian pada tahap ketiga yakni melakukan verifikasi data, jurnalis perlu memilih sumber berita yang beragam untuk memperoleh berita yang objektif serta berkualitas. Namun, di tengah pandemic Covid-19, dengan keterbatasan aktivitas dan pengetahuan tentu menjadi hambatan dalam melakukan verifikasi data. Di tengah dilema tersebut dalam penelitian ini jurnalis hanya mengandalkan data-data dari press release.

"Mau konfirmasi ke siapa lagi, yang punya data (Satgas) kalau dikonfirmasi, seringnya susah karena jadwalnya padat. akhirnya musti nunggu besok, besok. Lha keburu telat deadline." (Informan 1)

"ya ujung2nya kami cuma menulis sesuai rilis. Nggak tahu apakah itu rilisnya bener atau salah. Pokoknya kayak orang pasrah gitu mas, nanti kalau ada orang menyalahkan beritanya atau nuntut, ya salahkan saja rilisnya dari satgas. "(Informan 7)

Pada tahap ketiga yaitu proses penulisan, ada rutinitas yang berubah. Biasanya jurnalis bisa langsung menulis berita setelah wawancara, namun kini jurnalis perlu membahas data, istilah dan hal lain terkait Covid-19 yang masih asing. Hal ini merupakan upaya jurnalis dalam memahami isu agar penyampaian dalam berita tidak keliru.

"Karena ini hal baru bagi siapapun, gak Cuma wartawan saja. Tergantung kita cara sikapinya gimana. Awalnya, namanya orang, jetlag pasti ada. Maka kita sering diskusi sama teman, kantor, cara yang aman dan nyaman di tengah pandemic gimana. Dari situ kita belajar." (Informan 4)

Selain itu, pemahaman etika dalam penulisan berita khususnya identitas korban Covid-19. Identitas Covid-19 dalam pemberitaan dinilai menyalahi etika data pribadi. Namun di sisi lain, informasi tersebut dibutuhkan untuk tracing serta sebagai peringatan bagi masyarakat untuk waspada jika ada warga di lingungannya yang terpapar.

> *"Pada masa awal pandemic, yang susah diakses itu terutama data identitas pasien positif. Awalnya kita nggak paham, kalau data identitas itu penting. Padahal itu kan juga penting, kalau kita sebutkan alamatnya, kalau bisa sampai nama desanya, harapannya bisa memunculkan kesadaran agar masyarakat sekitarnya lebih hati-hati". (Informan 1)*

> *"Salah satu pasien covid yang disebutkan dalam rilis resmi itu tetangga saya, inisialnya sama, kecamatannya sama. Tapi tidak saya tulis detail. Dulu kan awal-awal, takutnya kalau nanti mereka dikucilkan dll. Jadi saya tulis inisial sesuai dengan rilis. Yang saya tulis detail itu paling hanya tokoh-tokoh / pejabat saja". (Informan 7)*

> *"Kalau beritanya nggak lengkap, nanti wartawan yang disalahkan. Sering sekali itu. Tapi nanti kalau terlalu detail, wartawannya juga disalahkan, karena dianggap menyebarkan aib, bahkan sampai beberapa kali terjadi penolakan pemakaman jenazah covid". (Informan 2)*

Dalam memecahkan hal-hal yang membuat jurnalis merasa dilema, biasanya jurnalis berdiskusi dan meminta pendapat dari kantor. Meski terselesaikan, terkadang jurnalis merasa menjadi tidak maksimal sebab tidak bisa membantu menginformasikan secara utuh kepada masyarakat.

Sementara untuk tahap verifikasi data melalui fact-checker, di area media lokal belum menggunakan bantuan aplikasi atau website. Sebenarnya Indonesia memiliki beberapa website yang dapat digunakan untuk melakukan fact-checker sebagai salah satu bentuk upaya verifikasi data. Namum website-website tersebut dinilai lambat dan tidak lengkap.

> *"Aku malah nggak percaya sama aplikasi seperti itu, karena gini. Itu kan sebenarnya, isu2 itu kan paling nggak kita harus mendapat info langsung dari narsumnya. Kalau isu seperti itu kan, kalau dari aplikasi2 itu, belum tentu paham soal itu. Saya juga belum pernah nyoba. Menurut saya yang paling ampuh ya langsung terjun ke sumbernya." (Informan 2)*

Hal tersebut berimbas pada bagaimana jurnalis menyaring sebuah berita. Hasil wawancara mendalam pada jurnalis revealed that jurnalis merasa bingung sebab lantaran berbagai macam versi dan perubahan informasi yang begitu cepat di Indonesia serta sulitnya mencari sumber yang kredibel.

> *"Kita bingung untuk menyaring berita. Misalnya tentang pengobatan covid pakai apa. Versi satu dengan yang lain berbeda. Versi pemerintah dan versi para ahli kadang berbeda karena kan ini kasus baru yang minim penelitian. Jadi yaa kita sendiri bingung juga mengahdapi gitu. Dulu katanya orang sehat ga perlu pake masker ternyata harus pake. Yang bisa disaring itu sifatnya ya kejadian." (Informan 8)*

"Pada akhirnya ya versi pemerintah yang kita anggap benar, karena yang berwenang kan pemerintah jika ada salah nanti bisa di ralat atau diberikan lanjutan beritanya," (Informan 5)

Tahap terakhir dalam proses pemberitaan adalah distribusi. Namun dalam penelitian ini distribusi tidak melibatkan jurnalis. Jurnalis hanya sampai pada tahap verifikasi yang kemudian tahap distribusi ditentukan oleh perusahaan media.

Dalam level ketiga yaitu organisasi, perusahaan media sebagai organisasi yang menaungi jurnalis memiliki andil dalam proses produksi berita. Dalam penelitian ini terdapat perusahaan media yang memberikan aturan-aturan khusus dalam liputan.

"Ada perintah langsung dari kantor ngga boleh ke RS, ketika lingkungan (yang diliput) betul-betul positif, mending nggak usah ambil gambar cukup dikontak saja, apakah memungkinkan si narsum mengambilkan gambar dengan HP. Ada toleransi, kantor memberikan itu." (Informan 5)

"Dulu pernah ada, waktu awal pandemic. kalau bisa konfirmasi via daring, nggak harus ketemu. Tapi lebih cenderung kalau bisa liputannya daring. Kalau terpaksa harus terjun ke lapangan. kantor bilang tetap harus patuhi protokol kesehatan". (Informan 1).

"Tidak ada kebijakan khusus soal pandemic ini. Paling hanya ada yang share soal pedoman liputan, tapi itu dari AJI. Bukan dari perusahaan. Sementara ini justru pendapatan saya secara personal menurun jika dibandingkan dengan sebelum pandemic". (Informan 8)

Aturan khusus tersebut tidak berupa aturan tertulis namun bersifat himbauan. Sementara itu, panduan keselamatan jurnalis dalam meliput di masa pandemi disusun oleh organisasi profesi saja. Seluruh informan menyatakan tidak ada panduan tertulis dari perusahaan.

Selama Covid-19 faktor ekonomi menjadi salah satu hal yang mereka risaukan dan paling berdampak. Sebelumnya, jurnalis digambarkan sebagai salah satu profesi yang tidak ideal sebab dibayar dengan gaji rendah, *overworked* serta rentan terjadinya eksploitasi (Milojević & Krstić, 2018).

"Selama pembatasan aktivitas ini jarang menulis. Media saya juga mengalami efisiensi yang membatasi jumlah berita yang diterbitkan,". (Informan 8)

"awal-awal pandemic justru dikurangi, selama 5 bulan. disuruh nulis sedikit saja. Karena pandemic berpengaruh ke pendapatan kantor kan. Aku yo sempat mumet, wah, 5 bulan sejak awal covid itu berkurang sekali. Pembatasan kuota berita bukan buat mencegah mobilitas wartawan tinggi, tapi karena kondisi keuangan kantor. " (Informan 7)

Berbeda dengan kedua informan di atas, informan lain menyatakan perusahaan media mereka justru membantu karyawan selama Covid 19. Bantuan tersebut berupa kebutuhan-kebutuhan kesehatan yang meningkat selama Covid-19.

"Difasilitasi APD dari kantor juga, itu rutin. Waktu awal pandemic, musti ngambil ke kantor, tiap sebulan-dua bulan. Satu paket isinya vitamin-vitamin C, masker, hand sanitizer." (Informan 1)

Namun demikian, jurnalis merasa bahwa krisis tengah melanda sebagian besar sektor masyarakat, termasuk media massa.

> *"Serba bingung ya. Mau nuntut, kantor sedang krisis juga. Wartawan yang di lapangan ini aslinya juga bisa disebut garda terdepan untuk menyampaikan informasi, Tapi kalau mau menuntut, mau ke mana. Kantor kan kondisinya sedang kayak gini, nanti kalau wartawan nuntut, nanti gimana jadinya." (Informan 5)*

Faktor ekonomi jurnalis yang ada pada level indivudial berdasarkan hasil wawancara berhubungan pada kondisi masing-masing perusahaan. Dalam kacamata yang lebih luas, wajah industri media cetak di Indonesia mengalami banyak permasalahan seperti menurunnya angka pembaca, kesulitan mendapatkan pengiklan dan ongkos produksi yang terus membengkak (Supadiyanto, 2020).

Perusahaan media yang sehat tentu mampu menjamin kesejahteraan dan kesehatan jurnalisnya sebagai karyawan. Bahkan ada pengalaman jurnalis lokal yang diwarnai dengan pemberhentian jurnalis karena bangkrutnya perusahaan media di tengah pandemic Covid-19.

> *"Banyak yang diberhentikan, dari solo raya. Ada beberapa perusahaan yang sebelum kondisi sudah parah sebelum pandemic, sekarang makin parah. Atau ada juga pengurangan halaman". (Informan 1)*

Dalam hal penanganan jurnalis yang positif Covid-19, level organisasi media menurut informan tidak terlalu berperan. "Pengalaman saya, ada teman yang positif itu ya rekan jurnalis lain yang mencarikan rumah sakit, trus wkatu karantina ya kita bantu. " kata Informan 8. Solidaritas sesama jurnalis menjadi hal penting dalam penanganan pasien.

Jurnalis tidak merasa takut untuk melaporkan kondisi kesehatannya pada perusahaan media ia bekerja. Dalam penelitian ini justru mendeskripsikan gambaran hubungan antara perusahaan dan jurnalis yang berbeda tergantung pada kondisi perusahaan media. Pada media kecil, tidak ada jaminan kesehatan selama pandemic berlangsung serta pedoman reportase selama pandemi. Selain itu, di masa pandemi tidak ada fasilitas khusus yang diberikan perusahaan media pada jurnalis untuk memfasilitasi wawancara secara daring.

Dalam proses penyuntingan naskah berita, ada jurnalis yang dibantu oleh perusahaan media untuk memahami bahasa-bahasa yang berkaitan dengan Covid-19. Namun sebagian besar tidak dan hanya mengandalkan bahan dari jurnalis.

> *"Untungnya di kantor ada orang-orang bahasa. Misalnya bagaimana cara membahasakannya agar mudah diterima publik bagaimana? Ya akhirnya kita lihat ke berita2 dari media lain". (Informan 1)*

> *"Kadang memang serba salah menjadi wartawan. Wartawan itu kan seakan-akan harus benar. Jarang ada verifikasi data di kantor.". (Informan 4)*

> *"Upgrade sendiri, googling, baca2. Kalau nggak ketemu, kebetulan kenal dokter, medis, humas RS, ya tanya, terus dijelaskan sama satgas covid". (Informan 5)*

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ketiga level dalam *Hierarchy of Influence Theory* yang mempengaruhi jurnalis bekerja berubah sesuai dengan kebutuhan dan kebijakan perusahaan media. Dalam level individu, jurnalis memliki persepsi yang berbeda-beda namun secara garis besar dapat dikategorikan menjadi dua. Yakni persepsi bahwa Covid-19 tidak terlalu serius dan persepsi bahwa Covid-19 adalah sesuatu yang serius bahkan mengancam diri dan keluarga jurnalis. Persepsi ini muncul dari kepercayaan baik lingkungan agama dan lingkungan sosialnya. Agama merupakan salah satu motivasi dalam memberitakan sebuah peristiwa sejak dahulu kala (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014).

Selain itu, salah satu karakteristik dalam level individual, yakni *political attitude* menjadi hal yang menarik perhatian (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Sikap jurnalis dalam bidang politik dalam hal ini berkaitan dengan fungsi kritik pada media mengingat adanya polarisasi politik pemerintahan.

Dalam penelitian ini, sikap politik jurnalis lokal memiliki dua karakteristik. Pertama yakni sikap kritik dan adanya ketidakpercayaan pada kebijakan pemerintah selama Pandemi Covid-19. Kedua yakni sikap politik dimana jurnalis mendukung kebijakan pemerintah selama Pandemi Covid-19. Dukungan tersebut merupakan pandangan dari jurnalis yang mempercayai bahwa pemerintah dalam menangani Covid-19 belum memiliki pengalaman sehingga kesalahan mungkin terjadi.

Namun demikian persepsi tersebut tidak lantas mempengaruhi jurnalis akan memberitakan Covid-19 atau tidak. Dalam penelitian ini seluruh jurnalis masih melakukan produksi berita tentang Covid-19. Hal ini didasarkan pada berbagai alasan. Pertama, tuntutan ekonomi yakni penugasan dari perusahaan media bagi jurnalis yang berstatus karyawan dan gaji yang tidak menentu bagi jurnalis berstatus kontributor menjadi alasan kuat.

Kedua yakni adanya idealisme jurnalis yang bertugas untuk melayani kebutuhan informasi masyarakat di tengah pandemi. Senada dengan penelitian lain yang menyebutkan, di masa pandemi jurnalis terkadang memilih menjadi media pendidikan kesehatan dibanding sebagai *watchdog* relasi kuasa (Lee, 2014). Di luar kebutuhan ekonomi yang tak terhindarkan dan kepercayaan tentang Covid-19 yang bertentangan, kebutuhan masyarat atas informasi yang harus dilayani menjadi hal yang tetap dipegang teguh. Kepanikan dan kecemasan yang akan tibul dari pemberitaan menjadi pertimbangan dalam penentuan produksi berita. Dalam penelitian lain bahkan disebutkan bahwa media menjadi salah satu berperan dalam menyebarkan kepanikan masyarakat (Salman, 2021). Tentu idealisme serta kesadaran atas tanggung jawab sosial dari diri jurnalis yang menentukan proses produksi berita.

Kemampuan jurnalis dalam menyeimbangkan kepentingan publik, keyakinan dan idealisme pribadi ini menjadi hal penting (Kim, 2020). Namun demikian tentu kondisi tersbeut bukanlah kondisi ideal, bagaimana pun kesejahteraan merupakah permasalahan klasik yang harus selesai. Selain itu, sisi profesionalisme dalam mementingkan kepentingan publik tentu harus diimbangi dengan peningkatan kualitas jurnalis.

Hasil penelitian pada level kedua, yakni *routine practice level* adalah level yang paling dianggap sulit bagi jurnalis lokal. Kondisi ini disebabkan munculnya hal-hal dilematis yang ditemui jurnalis di berbagai tahap proses produksi berita. Dilematis yang dirasakan oleh jurnalis berasal dari internal dan eksternal jurnalis.

Pada faktor internal, jurnalis yang tidak berasal dari ilmu kesehatan atu medis kerap kesulitan mengintepretasi hal-hal baru terkait Covid-19 misalnya vaksin, pengobatan dan upaya pencegahan. Temuan ini senada dengan penelitian lain yang menyatakan pengetahuan menjadi salah satu tantangan serius bagi media lokal (Tenor, 2018).

Selain itu, rutinitas produksi berita juga tak selancar pada kondisi sebelum pandemi. Misalnya pada proses penulisan, jurnalis membutuhkan waktu untuk berdiskusi dengan rekan jurnalis atau pun atasan di kantor untuk mementukan apakah akan mempublikasikan identitas korban Covid-19 atau tidak.

Pada faktor eksternal, jurnalis mengalami kesulitan dalam mencari informasi. Kondisi kebijakan physical distancing dan work from home membuat narasumber menjadi lebih sulit untuk ditemui. Penggunaan media sosial misalnya *whatsapp* belum maksimal diterima secara baik oleh narasumber. Kondisi ini tentu disayangkan sebab penggunaan teknologi baik oleh jurnalis atau narasumber mampu menghubungkan jurnalisme dengan media sosial untuk meningkatkan profesionalisme jurnalis (McIntyre & Sobel, 2019).

Kesulitan mengadaptasi teknologi yang dihadapi jurnalis lokal dalam mencari informasi kemudian menyebabkan hambatan lain. Jurnalis lokal lebih mengandalkan press release sebagai bahan pemberitaan. Adopsi teknologi di masa pandemi membutuhkan kecepatan dan ketepatan baik oleh instansi pemerintah atau sumber berita lainnya.

Pada tahap verifikasi data, jurnalis tidak menggunakan teknologi untuk melakukan *fact checker*. Absennya teknologi disebabkan baik organisasi media atau pun jurnalis sebagai individu tidak memiliki kebiasaan, pengetahuan dan kemampuan dalam melakukan verifikasi data secara online. Dampak negatif dari absennya teknologi ini terlihat pada ketidakyakinan jurnalis pada informasi yang ditulisnya.

Sementara pada hasil penelitian di level organisasi, narasi kesejahteraan jurnalis muncul. Narasi ini sebenarnya bukan hal baru di dunia media. Kesejahteraan jurnalis masih belum diselesaikan.

Informan dalam penelitian ini merasakan, banyak rekan-rekan jurnalis yang saat ini menjadi pengangguran sebab adanya media yang tutup. Sementara bagi media-media kecil, gaji jauh berkurang saat pandemi dibandingkan dengan kondisi normal. Tak hanya di Indonesia, di Filipina jurnalis lokal merupakan jurnalis yang paling sedikit mendapatkan gaji dan jaminan kesejahteraan lain misalnya kesehatan (Høiby, 2020).

Dalam penelitian ini, tidak semua jurnalis mengalami kondisi tersebut. Kebijakan perusahaan media terkait ekonomi ini kemudian berpengaruh pada bagaimana proses jurnalis memproduksi berita. Pada media yang sehat secara ekonomi, jurnalis dibekali alat-alat protokol

kesehatan serta vitamin untuk menjaga imun. Sementara sebagian besar jurnalis tidak mendapatkan gaji dan kelengkapan alat kesehatan tersebut.

Informan dalam penelitian ini menyatakan bahwa media menjadi tumpuan utama dalam melakukan editing pemberitaan termasuk verifikasi data. Verifikasi dilakukan secara tradisional yakni dengan menanyakan ulang pada narasumber berita atau rekan media yang lain bahkan kerap diabaikan dan hanya bersumber dari press release. Dalam penelitian lain kesenjangan dalam verifikasi data ini juga terjadi di Bangladesh yang menjadi permasalahan penting (Mahfuzul et al., 2020). Bahkan di Swedia, meski media massa sudah memiliki *Fact Check Assistant* sebagai teknologi verifikasi data, penggunaannya pun masih kerap diabaikan (Picha Edwardsson et al., 2021). Rekomendasi untuk mengatasi dilema jurnalis karena keterbatasan pengetahuan sebenarnya bisa dilakukan melalui memeriksa data melalui CDC atau WHO, meminimalisir emosi serta tetap menyampaikan adanya kemungkinan jawaban belum diketahui (Krause et al., 2020).

Pada dasarnya, press release merupakan salah satu sumber pemberitaan. Penggunaan sumber dari press release tentu bukan lah sebuah pelanggaran kode etik. Namun jika hanya memberitakan informasi yang diambil dari press release tentu menjadi sebuah hubungan ketergantungan.

Ketergantungan jurnalisme pada *press release* tentu bukan hal yang wajar. Praktik ini kerap disebut sebagai praktik subsidi informasi yang dapat menjauhkan praktik interaksi langsung dengan narasumber dan observasi secara langsung dari jurnalisme (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2018).

Dalam penelitian ini praktik tersebut terjadi bukan dengan sengaja namun keterbatasan teknologi serta literasi digital media dan stakeholder lainnya sebagai sumber berita menjadi alasan. Dalam penelitian sebelumnya, subsidi informasi ini

Dari ketiga level yang dianalisis dalam penelitian ini, tergambarkan bahwa jurnalis lokal di Soloraya memiliki berbagai hal dilematis yang dihadapi dalam kesehariannya. Faktor pribadi, profesionalisme dan situasional menjadi faktor yang mempengaruhi bagaimana jurnalis menghadapi situasi krisis (Winters et al., 2020).

Penelitian sebelumnya yang dilakukan saat terjadinya wabah influenza tahun 2009 sebenarnya sudah merekomendasikan adanya integrasi komunikasi untuk menyampaikan berita saat wabah terjadi (Abraham, 2011). Dapat dikatakan dua belas tahun berlalu, integrasi ini belum terjadi khususnya di jurnalis. Kegagapan teknologi baik dari sisi jurnalis dan *stakeholder* khususnya pemerintah masih terjadi. Selain itu, kurangnya pengetahuan dan kemampuan dalam menyampaikan berita di masa pandemi tentu menjadi pekerjaan rumah bagi perusahaan media untuk responsif atas kondisi global.

KESIMPULAN

Dari hasil dan diskusi yang dibahas sebelumnnya, dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa berbagai tantangan dan permasalahan dihadapi oleh jurnalis lokal. Jurnalis lokal sebagai ujung tombak media lokal yang menjadi perekat masyarakat mengahdapi permasalahan di *individual level*. Dalam *individual level*, pemahaman jurnalis tentang keseahatan masyarakat dan

Covid-19 khususnya menjadi hambatan besar. Keberagaman keyakinan jurnalis terhadap kondisi pandemi ini kemudian Pandemi Covid-19 mengubah rutinitas jurnalis lokal baik dari tahap pencarian berita hingga ke penulisan berita. Gagap teknologi yang dialami jurnalis serta narasumber menjadi poin penting di tengah era digitalisasi media. Digitalisasi yang digadang-gadang oleh media massa tentu perlu sinkronisasi dengan jurnalis dan narasumber.

Hal menarik lainnya yakni di level organisasi, kondisi perusahaan media menjadi faktor kesejahteraan jurnalis. Bagi jurnalis yang memiliki media mapan dan stabil secara finansial, jurnalis mendapat bantuan dalam menghadapi krisis ini.

Namun sebagian besar jurnalis justru masih mengalami kesejahteraan yang terus membebani jurnalis dalam melaksanakan tugasnya. Meski demikian jurnalis menyadari bahwa perannya penting dalam penyebaran informasi pada saat pandemi merupakan niat baik yang tak didukung oleh kondisi kesejahteraan, kegagapan teknologi dan keterbatasan pengetahuan kesehatan masyarakat.

Penelitian ini dapat digunakan sebagai rujukan untuk perusahaan media, pemerintah dan Satgas dalam penanganan Covid-19 khususnya dalam menangkal infodemic yang beredar di masyarakat. Pemelitian ini juga diharapkan mampu mengubah kebijakan baik pemerintah dan perusahaan media berdasarkan kondisi jurnalis lokal yang dipaparkan.

Penelitian ini terbatas pada sampel penelitian yang fokus pada kelompok jurnalis sebagai komunikator. Penelitian ini dapat menjadi rujukan dalam penelitian lain yang akan memperluas garis analisis melalui analisis dari segi struktur di media, masyarakat sebagai audie**n**s hingga pemerintah sebagai *stakeholder*.

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The Developments And Challenges Of Citizen Journalism In Indonesia

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Abstract

Citizen journalism arises because technology provides opportunities for consumers to become content producers, which can be referred to as user-generated content (UGC). With the emergence of the ability of citizens to produce content, citizen journalism has become an alternative to content produced by the mainstream media, especially after the presence of social media. In practice, citizen journalism will always go hand in hand with the mainstream media, which of course has bigger resources. Academic attention to citizen journalism has also developed from the beginning when this activity was formed until it developed into an alternative media for the public. The author focuses on previous studies, to be able to explain whether there are challenges behind the development of citizen journalism. This article is a literature review as a method, prioritizing articles collected from the accredited journal index system and the Google Scholar search engine. The results found that citizen journalism is still developing, both as an alternative media and as part of the mainstream media. However, in its development journalism has challenges in issues of ethics, law, accuracy, and reliability. The results of this study are expected to provide recommendations for future researchers related to ethics, law, accuracy, and reliability of citizen journalism.

Keywords: *Citizen journalism; Independence; Mainstream media*

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Perkembangan dan Tantangan Jurnalisme Warga Di Indonesia

Abstrak

Jurnalisme warga muncul karena teknologi yang memberikan peluang bagi konsumen menjadi produsen konten, dapat disebut sebagai user generated content (UGC). Dengan munculnya kemampuan warga dalam memproduksi konten, jurnalisme warga menjadi alternatif selain konten yang diproduksi oleh media mainstream, utamanya setelah kehadiran sosial media. Pada praktiknya jurnalisme warga akan selalu beriringan dengan media mainstream, yang tentu memiliki sumber daya yang lebih besar. Perhatian akademis mengenai jurnalisme warga pun berkembang dari awal mulai aktivitas ini terbentuk, hingga berkembang menjadi media alternatif bagi publik. Penulis fokus pada penelitian-penelitian terdahulu, untuk bisa menjelaskan apakah ada tantangan di balik perkembangan jurnalisme warga. Artikel ini merupakan tinjauan pustaka sebagai metode, dengan mengutamakan artikel yang dikumpulkan dari sistem indeks jurnal terakreditasi dan mesin pencarian google scholar. Hasilnya ditemukan bahwa jurnalisme warga memang masih berkembang, baik sebagai media alternatif dan menjadi bagian dari media mainstream. Namun, dalam perkembangannya jurnalisme memiliki tantangan dalam isu etika, hukum, akurasi, dan

reliabilitas. Hasil dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan rekomendasi bagi peneliti di masa depan berkaitan dengan etika, hukum, akurasi, dan reliabilitas jurnalisme warga.

Kata Kunci : *Jurnalisme warga; Independensi; Media mainstream.*

INTRODUCTION

Information is something that is needed by society and has important value (Rogers, 1987). Before the emergence of new media, mass media such as newspapers and television played a role in disseminating information. The mass media is a social institution whose main activity is the production and distribution of information and culture (McQuail, 2010). In addition, the media also functions to be responsible in the public sphere for the production of this information. Media differentiation in mass media is easy to see by using print or broadcast media, but with the emergence of the internet and digitalization, the media characters have converged and are difficult to distinguish (McQuail, 2010).

New media brings changes to the mass media by uniting several media into one or media convergence. Dijk (2006) explains how technological developments created by humans move along with the character of society. The development of Internet technology forms a new infrastructure in society (Dijk, 2006). In the 21st century, a new character of society has emerged, namely a network society, this network can be in the form of social networks or media networks.

This network makes information scroll very quickly, various levels of society can access information or provide information according to what they want. The public, consumers, and audiences can connect with the network they want. The network community is well-informed. Thus the presence of new media is something that supports democracy and freedom of expression. This statement is under the characteristics of new media, namely digital, interactive, hypertextual, networked, and stimulated (Lister et al., 2009).

With convergence, interactivity, and digitalization, information dissemination is not only carried out by the media, but citizens can also produce information and form their media (Papacharissi, 2009). Previously, the mass media had the power to select and convey information to the public. The presence of new media provides space for citizens to produce information as well.

Citizen journalism is described as the involvement of non-professionals in creating, analyzing, and disseminating news and information in the public interest (Roberts, 2019a). It arises because technology provides user-generated content (UGC). Citizens or users can make content or share information through social media, blogs, or social networking like Twitter. This advantage is also supported by new media characteristics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Citizen Journalism & New Media Characteristics

The interactivity and digital characteristics of new media encourage the presence of citizen journalism. With the character of digital media, message production is easier to create, because data is stored digitally and can be stored

and distributed via the internet, digital disks, or memory devices (Lister et al., 2009). Thus, the data produced can be distributed through telecommunication networks in the form of digital data, or the form of hard copies. The same goes for interactivity, making information produced by citizen journalists shareable with Internet users. Citizen journalism appears outside the mainstream media because citizen journalism has strong relationships with other citizens who are not journalists, even they are sometimes independent. Citizen journalism is in the opposite direction of the mainstream media (Deuze, 2009a). This independence is the advantage of citizen journalism to make it more trusted by the public.

In addition to independence, citizen journalism is also related to freedom of expression and diversity of information. The diversity of information is obtained from information boundaries that are getting thinner due to technology, and the opening of opportunities for marginalized groups to voice their opinions (Luce et al., 2017). That's why Nah (2008) defines citizen journalism as 'amateur and grassroots reporters or journalists'. At the beginning of the emergence of citizen journalism, they were independent and do not depend on the mainstream media.

This independence is a strength of citizen journalism. With UGC, citizens spread information to other citizens, repost it, comment it, and gain mass. In the Asian context, citizen journalism is a form of democracy of the public to mutually support fellow citizens and equalize positions with the mainstream media(X. Zeng et al., 2019). In India, citizen journalism can show movement in some public issues such as addressing grievances, access to services, helping citizens overcome bureaucratic hurdles, fighting corruption, upholding basic rights, and achieving justice (Pain, 2018). Meanwhile, in South East Asia, the success of citizen journalism can be seen in Indonesia, because the root tradition of citizen journalism has been embedded in radio which developed through new media (X. Zeng et al., 2019). This development has made the media system in Indonesia more diverse, not only dominated by the elite, even though it is in a fragile position because it is not protected by Press Law No. 40 of 1999 (Subarkah et al., 2019).

The freedom of citizen journalism is not entirely ideal, as time goes by, it is possible that citizen journalism has to relate to mainstream media or mass media. The power of citizen journalism to gain mass, and spread information make mainstream media develop their application to gain information from citizen (Kperogi, 2011; Palmer, 2013). The mass media reads the diversity of information offered by citizen journalism as an opportunity to provide a forum for citizen journalism and present information with different agendas. One example, CNN has a special website for citizen journalism, titled iReport.com. This practice is also starting to be seen in Indonesian local radio, such as Suara Surabaya, or Indonesian online news portals like pasangmata.com (detik.com) or kompasiana (Kompas.com) which creates a citizen journalism website and has its citizen journalism event slot.

Initially, the space provided by the common media only provided media for

citizen journalists to convey their work. The mainstream media provide space to motivate citizens to be citizen journalists and to make their reports with a local context. However, is it possible for citizen journalists to still exist if the mainstream media starts cooperating with them?

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this paper is a literature review. The data source used is a secondary data source in the form of scientific articles obtained through publisher indexes such as Science Direct, Sage Publications, Taylor & Francais, and another source like google scholar, using the keyword "citizen journalism". From the secondary data search, 2108 journals were obtained which were then analyzed. After that author prioritizes articles that are published within 3 years to reduce bias in conducting literature reviews, it is necessary to carry out several key stages (Winchester & Salji, 2016) which can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Stages of Literature Review

Stages	Examples
Select Review/ Topic Title	Citizen Journalism
Identify keywords and search terms	Citizen Journalism, Public Journalism, Civic Journalism
Identify information sources	Online search engines: Google
Generate a reading list and collect articles	• Start with a broad search term e.g. 'citizen journalism' and "journalism warga" • Use online resources: Google Scholar: English: 1070, Indonesian: 173 articles
Make notes in your own words	• Group and collate information relating to keywords and search terms • Evaluate data in peer-reviewed research articles • Compare and contrast similarities and differences • Keep track of information sources
Write literature review	• Summarise findings • Expand into a full review using keywords and search terms to structure the text into sections • Generate a citation list

Source: adapted from (Winchester & Salji, 2016)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Combination of UGC and Social Media

Converged media indirectly changes the character of the users who initially were passive to be more active. Audiences are not only consumers (consumers) anymore, but they can also become producers, so the term prosumer (Hess, 2009) appears in the mainstream media. The term prosumer appears in academic circles when facts indicate that prosumer users are appearing between producers and consumers, as well as professionals and consumers (Dijck, 2009). It can be said that User Generated

Content is media content produced by those who are not media professionals (Dijck, 2009).

"*Audiences empowered by new technologies, forming spaces between old and new media, demand to participate in culture*" (Jenkins, 2006, p.24). Jenkins argues that network technology influences users to renegotiate their relationship with corporations (Dijck, 2009). The community as users also wants to move to form new content and contribute to providing information. Tang, Fang, and Wang (Colistra et al., 2016), explain that UGC is media content created by users to share information and or opinions with other users.

UGC also provides input on journalism content, which provides an opportunity for citizens to shape their content, which is called citizen journalism. The UGC form of citizen journalism includes journalistic practices such as blogging, sharing photos and videos, or posting comments about the testimony of an incident. In another scope, citizen journalism activities also include re-posting, linking, tagging, rating, modifying, or commenting on news content posted by other users or by professional news sites where sometimes citizen participation in the reporting process is carried out unintentionally (Goode, 2009). In principle, citizen journalism is the result of reporting by non-journalist citizens using any means to make reports to other citizens.

Youtube or blog is a site that provides a special platform for UGC. Youtube, is currently one of the largest UGC Video on Demand (VoD) which states that they are a forum for the UGC VoD community and provide opportunities for citizens to produce their content in the form of videos (Cha et al., 2007). In 2006, Google, one of the largest technology companies, bought Youtube for USD 1.65 billion (Hidayat, 2013). This proves that Youtube has great potential. This potential is meaningless without reason since it was founded in 2005 until 2015. It has recorded that 300 million videos have been shared (Prihadi, 2015). Pew Research released data that stated that of the hundreds of popular news videos uploaded to Youtube, 40% were produced by non-journalists (Prihadi, 2015). APJII data (2016) shows that YouTube is one of the social media that is often used by internet users in Indonesia as many as 14.5 million people. From this data, it can be seen that many people use Youtube as a means to spread their ‹product›, and there are many enthusiasts.

Apart from Youtube, there are still many other media, sites, or technologies that support UGC such as Twitter and Facebook. Twitter is one of the substitutes for mainstream media in breaking news (Murthy, 2011). Information on Twitter can scroll through retweet activities or quoted tweets. Not only that, Twitter become a prominent part of social protest movement communication. Twitter enabled the spread of news information across physical spaces and provided a standardized platform for the contextualization of that information even though as time goes by, user behavior changes from a reliance on redistributing information to a greater prevalence of original information being disseminated in tweets (Veenstra et al., 2014). Further, Twitter is an alternative media for citizens to complete information on mass media which they consider to have been controlled by the political interests of the owners

(Ritonga & Syahputra, 2019).

Other social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and blogs, can also be a channel for citizens to carry out citizen journalism activities. Citizens can choose any channel to create their content including journalism. Even though the role of Facebook and Twitter is different in citizen journalism. Facebook tends to have power on network size (bonding and bridging), while Twitter's power tends to have strength in personal factors social media use, and civic skill (Kim & Lowrey, 2015).

One of UGC›s strengths is that content is produced by citizens and distributed through channels they want, with the content they expect. This freedom can create a variety of content produced by users or audiences. This advantage also applies to citizen journalism. As mentioned in the introduction, citizen journalism is primarily concerned with establishing relationships between citizens, so the content produced tends to be unique because it often has a different point of view from the mainstream media (Deuze, 2009a). This is then reinforced by the opinion of Goode (2009) who says that citizen journalism is usually spontaneous and unintentional. With these advantages, citizen journalism can be an entry point for professional journalism to be more accepted by the audience.

Reaching the Unreached by the Mass Media, A Mainstream Media Gap

New media allows citizens to appear in public space due to the characteristics of new media mentioned previously, and the primary function of new media. Pavlik (1996) explains that new media has four technical functions in information processing. In the production of information, new media provides speed and efficiency. Collection and processing of information can be done more quickly, easily, and efficiently. In addition, information distribution can be done through the internet, depending on how many channels are connected to the manufacturer's network. With the nature of digital data, the display of information can be packaged more attractively or interactively (Lister et al., 2009), as well as providing new experiences for users. Finally, data regarding information can be stored in various formats making it easier to store.

In addition, related to its scope, citizen journalism can cover and raise local matters globally (Deuze, 2009b). One of the things that can be used as an example is information about the explosion of Pertamina's fuel storage in Plumpang, Jakarta (Farisi, 2023). At this disaster, people need clear and actual pieces of information about what happened. One of the first things that could be relied upon regarding information on a bomb explosion was a video uploaded by people around the scene. Beside the form of videos, Twitter users' also help spread information about the explosion. This indicates that citizen journalism is those that helps disseminate information for society to reach information faster than traditional media.

Another example is reporting on natural disasters, a condition that requires rapid distribution of information to expedite disaster management. In 2008 there was an earthquake in China, and information about the earthquake that occurred in Wenchuan China spread via Twitter (Nip, 2009). This is a practice of citizen journalism where one of the scattered videos was recorded

by a student from his dormitory at Sichuan University (Nip, 2009). The video was then broadcast by CCTV (China Central Television). It is proven (Chang, 2009) that citizen journalism helps in speeding the distribution of information that is not reached by the mass media. Citizen journalism complements the information reported by the mass media.

Specifically, citizen journalism can bridge the proximity gap between the public and the newsroom. Proximity recognizes as something important to develop a sense of community, avenues at a greater distance from smaller towns are more likely to offer balanced political coverage of public interest matters (Freeman, 2020). In South Korea, there is the OhmyNews website which is a form of citizen journalism that changes handlers from "right to know" to "right to the expression" (Chang, 2009). This citizen journalism site has a mission as a new source of information for the community. In 2008 OhmyNews had 37,000 contributors and issued both English and Japanese editions (Thurman, 2008). In Indonesia, there are also citizen journalism channels such as Kabarindonesia.com, but no citizen journalism site can be as big as OhmyNews in South Korea.

The excitement of sharing information between residents on social media is seen by the mass media as an opportunity to collaborate with citizen journalists. One of the media that apply this is CNN, through iReport which provides a forum for citizen journalism in the form of video or writing to contribute without any re-editing and censorship processes from CNN (Kperogi, 2011). One of the things they highlight from iReport.com is the novelty of videos from citizen journalists, which will later be broadcasted on CNN›s conventional media. On the other hand, CNN takes advantage of the efficiency of its workforce/ contributors network in various locations. Until 2011 alone, iReport.com had managed to collect 200,000 videos from citizen journalists who uploaded them voluntarily (Kperogi, 2011). In addition, CNN producers form assignment teams to determine what topics must be reported by citizen journalists, and will be eventually used by CNN itself (Kperogi, 2011).

In 2010, CNN launched a mobile app for iReport.com to make it easy for citizen journalists to produce news (Palmer, 2013) This launch reinforces the assumption that CNN is trying to create a global information network. This practice carried out by CNN shows the dependence between CNN as a media and citizen journalists as contributors (Palmer, 2013).

Local citizen journalism is also enforced on the radio. The existence of a local radio community is a solution to overcome challenges in fulfilling moral obligations related to local news, improving strategies for innovation, gathering news, and expanding networks with professional media in the form of presenting quality local news coverage (Kocic et al., 2022). Occasionally, the professional media reward for community radio which gives good information (Kocic et al., 2022).

In Indonesia, several mainstream media have also started to open space for citizen journalism. Kompas has Kompasiana which provides space for writing, and Tempo has Indonesiana, while Detik has pasangmata.com site as well. This extension is a manifestation of the media

industry applying and utilizing media convergence. Media companies in Indonesia may create platforms for citizen journalists to provide content, obtain information networks, and possibly earn money. This relationship develops between professional media relations with citizen journalism. Kompasiana owned by Kompas has certain rules regarding authors and content on their websites (Husbuyanti, 2021).

One form of citizen journalism forum facilitated by the mainstream media is netcj.co.id which was formed by Net. TV in 2013. Even though this program was discontinued, it still represents how mainstream media embrace citizen journalism to be a part of them. On the NETCJ website, they explain that NETCJ is a form of social media that facilitates interactivity and citizen discussion regarding to uploaded content. NETCJ also openly explains that there are awards for the best videos every week and every month. Besides that, NETCJ opens opportunities for the best videos to be broadcasted on NET TV every day (Husain, 2016)).

In the organizational structure of NET TV, NET. CJ is under the News Division. NET videos. CJ which is broadcasted on television undergoes a selection and editing process in this division (Honsujaya & Gafar, 2019). Indirectly, NET. CJ has an information database, and it is processed according to its agenda so that it can be broadcasted in its media. One example is the selection of Islamic news videos that undergo gatekeeper selection by NET Producers. CJ, NET Producer. 10, dubber, editor, and apprentice (Khasanah, 2016). NET Islamic news selection. CJ is broadcast based on two criteria, namely attractive packaging and news value(Khasanah, 2016).

NET. CJ himself is considered a space choice for citizen journalists to work. This program has several uniqueness, namely integrating various platforms as one unit, providing greater broadcast opportunities, and being superior in terms of ideas (Honsujaya & Gafar, 2019). To develop citizen journalism, NET. CJ also educates citizen journalists through workshops and camps to provide journalistic knowledge (Honsujaya & Gafar, 2019).

Deuze (2009b) explains that one of the reasons traditional media embraces and works with consumers as partners in producing content is lower costs. The first is the efficiency and speed of information production. Besides, that production is more efficient, because to get certain information the media doesn›t need to send their crew to do the coverage, just use the network of citizen journalists. This provides an economic advantage because it can reduce production costs and only provide honorariums as compensation to citizen journalists whose content is used by the mainstream media.

Second, citizen journalism sites can be a repository of information for traditional media, so that media can get information with certain categories used as content shown on television. From a media management standpoint, mainstream media takes advantage of technology and works with citizen journalism, this creates a new pattern in media production. Several characteristics of citizen journalism support content production activities in the mainstream media. Information production becomes effective and efficient, technology also provides new information storage that is easier to use because it is in digital form,

and this information can also be produced anywhere with easier distribution via internet network (Pavlik, 1996).

The entry of the role of mainstream media in facilitating the practice of citizen journalism is contrary to one point of view regarding the independence of citizen journalism. Citizen journalism is an alternative for citizens to obtain essential information which is not a gatekeeper such as the mass media (Nugraha, 2013). If citizen journalists are forced to follow the techniques used by journalists, the uniqueness of the information will not appear, because its content has been processed through an editing process.

This phenomenon also illustrates the development of citizen journalism networks that no longer only establish relationships with fellow citizens but also professional journalists and even mass media. Citizen journalists have a loophole for economic interests to enter, which is contrary to the idealism of citizen journalism.

Otherwise, this practice is seen as cooptation and domination (Husbuyanti, 2021). The cooptation looked at the rules that the mainstream media invites people who want to participate, like Citizen journalists who are members of citizen journalism sites to have the opportunity to get points for their content (Husbuyanti, 2021). This certainly affects the independence and limit of citizen journalism.

Does the citizen journalism idealism still work?

There are some hopes for citizen journalism idealism to work, in the middle of the "facilitation" that mainstream media give. Citizen journalism fangs are still strong because they can influence traditional media's agenda and policy agenda, even making the government take action to solve actual problems (Luo & Harrison, 2019). Online public opinion, comments, and discussion on social media or online news sites followed by traditional media and affect their agenda.

The citizen journalism spirit still grows alongside social and mobile technology development. It brings information locality can be shared with fellow citizens and empowered passive citizens to be proactive to take action (Lin & Zhao, 2019). Lin & Zhao (2019) call it as SoMoLo (Social, Mobile, Local), which was found to have a role as an extension of offline citizen activity to online citizen activity. This activity is supported by people who participated in this practice, the internet users.

In another research, citizen journalism influences civic participation in volunteering and donating programs held by a non-profit organization(Nah et al., 2017). Based on the communication mediation model, social capital perspective, and communication infrastructure theory, citizen journalism increase civic and community engagement (Nah & Chung, 2020). The appearance of information and technology increasingly connects civic, community, media, and the public.

The connectivity is represented in how citizen journalism aid and creates a network for marginalized people. In the Indonesian context, there are limited reports about the marginalized religious community in mainstream media. To solve this problem, the marginal religious community uses social media and chat applications to communicate and share information (Heychael et al., 2021). Accordingly, because

of this connectivity, citizen journalism is seen as the fifth estate of democracy and it applied to Balebengong (Astuti, 2022). Balebengong is a citizen journalism media portal in Bali that was established on June 26, 2007, as a forum for Balinese people to tell stories.

Still talking about connectivity, citizen journalism is also indirectly related to civic participation and predicts political discussions (Nah & Yamamoto, 2020). It can predict political discussion, ultimately to civic who more frequently contributed to online news sites (comments, photos, videos, and news stories) discussing politics and public issues with other citizens. This participation and discussion can act as a mediator and lead to civic behaviors (Yamamoto et al., 2022).

The active role of citizen journalism is caused by distrust of the mainstream media. Dewey, a citizen media in Brussels produce constructive news against stereotypes or a lack of coverage on mainstream media of certain issues (Wiard & Simonson, 2019). Then, it can explain that citizen journalism thorough information exposure. When the Tianjin blasts happened in 2015, civilians engaged to verify the rumor about it on Weibo (SNS in China) (J. Zeng et al., 2019). The fact is that civilians trust more grassroots information than official information from the government and their partners.

This distrust makes both government, mainstream media, and public figures find it hard to lie about occurrences. Because the journalist's role as a gatekeeper began to be inserted by the same role of citizen journalism. Initially, journalists recorded and conveyed an incident quickly and accurately, but now residents can do it with technology. It can be seen in riots in America when black civilians are shot by white police which begins with one witness video and is uploaded on social media (Walker, 2022). Then, netizens can comment and discuss it on the internet regardless of whether the discussion is under the news in the mainstream media.

Citizen journalism and its weakness

From the discussions above, it can be seen that citizen journalism has expectation. The research discussed before was done in many different countries. In Asia, citizen journalism is getting to enjoy less media plurality, and activate the resident to be proactive to take action like in Indonesia, India, Malaysia, Macau, and Vietnam (Lin & Zhao, 2019; J. Zeng et al., 2019). In America, it assists riots when black citizens are shot by police (Walker, 2022). In Africa, citizen journalism is starting to grow on the technology infrastructure in the area (Mutsvairo & Salgado, 2022).

The power of citizen journalism to gain civic participation by bringing local information as a medium for sharing information and opinion walks side by side with its weaknesses. Personally, professional journalists recognize that citizen journalism is credible, but lacks recognition of the application of journalistic ethics and professionalism which is less accurate, and less reliable (Horoub, 2023; Salaudeen, 2022). Ethical issues also cover the use of social media in citizen journalism practices. Most social media ignore ethics in their media regulations (Roberts, 2019b). Citizen journalists don't have the same perspective on journalism ethics because it

is sometimes based on individual parties, such as accepting certain money as the informant (Soraya et al., 2023).

The ethical, accuracy, and reliability issues may relate to how professional journalism perceive citizen journalism. The use of information from non-professional journalists is considered a choice for professional journalists, especially when an incident must be reported in actual terms (Horoub, 2023). So, with that power, citizen journalism still needs professional media as a mediator and a gatekeeper to reach its goals, especially when it talks about grassroots movements. More than that, citizen journalism is only considered as complement of common information media.

Weaknesses related to accuracy and correctness in citizen journalism practices can be improved with professional journalism training. However, when viewed from its legal position, citizen journalism departs from an idealistic view of how professional journalism can criticize efforts that are considered to belong to certain groups or something that is too market-oriented so that it is not pro-public, which is not as strong as professional journalism which is protected by the 1999 Law? Press Law (Subarkah et al., 2019). So citizen journalists can be legally prosecuted if the content they produce harms other parties, as happened in the 2017 Acho and 2018 Augie cases.

Within the community, citizen journalism continually becomes an alternative media for citizens and fulfills the rights of the marginalized one. On this side, citizen journalism is also associated with grassroots movements to be able to complete the domination of power, one of which is the mass media. Although citizen journalism also builds relationships with official common media to expand networks and disseminate information, it can be seen that citizen journalism faces challenges related to ethics, accuracy, reliability, and legal protection in its activities. In addition, there are different perceptions between professional journalists and journalists.

CONCLUSION

Citizen journalism is a beneficial consequence provided by technology. Locality and independence are the strengths of citizen journalism. This power is then seen as an economic gap for the mainstream media to be able to embrace citizen journalists to help professional journalism. In the end, the question arises whether the breath of citizen journalism independence will fade with this collaboration. But apparently, citizen journalism which is also grassroots journalism still has life. Even though it is contextual in some areas, citizen journalism still has the power to offset mainstream information media, build bonds between citizens, share information, and even create movements. Citizen journalism also can influence traditional media agendas and vice versa, as well as policy agendas, because journalists as gatekeepers in the press can take information on social media to make news material (Luo & Harrison, 2019; Ritonga & Syahputra, 2019). On the other hand, Citizen journalism faces challenges related to issues of ethics, law, accuracy, and reliability regarding information and citizen journalism practices. Based on this writing, which has limitations because it's

a literature review, found that some issues may become a topic of future research. First, ethical issues in citizen journalism need to be discussed in future studies and compare from both points of view (citizen journalist and professional journalist), to find out if there is a difference of opinion on this matter. Also, future research can find how the role of the mainstream media to support the information produced by citizen journalists.

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Collaborative Communication of Jakmania in Mediating Intergroup Conflict

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Abstrak

Konflik antar geng jalanan dengan manifestasi tawuran merupakan kejadian rutin di Kecamatan Johar Baru. Upaya untuk mendamaikan pihak-pihakyang bertikai kerap menemui kegagalan. Mediasi alternatif justru berasal dari Jakmania yang menawarkan narasi baru untuk menciptakan perdamaian melalui kolaborasi dengan pihak yang berkonflik. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis praktik komunikasi kolaboratif dalam memediasi konflik antar geng jalanan di Kecamatan Johar Baru. Untuk menjawab tujuan penelitian tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan sejumlah informan yang peduli dengan perdamaian di Kecamatan Johar Baru. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, aktor yang berperan dalam mediasi konflik beragam, antara lain aparat keamanan, aparat pemerintah, forum warga, dan Jakmania. Jalan buntu mediasi oleh polisi, ketua RW dan pemuka opini membuka ruang bagi aktor 'pinggiran', yakni Jakmania untuk menjadi penengah, dan berhasil karena perdamaian menjadi lebih langgeng/terjaga.Kunci keberhasilan Jakmania adalah penggunaan kolaborasi, bukan kontestasi. Praktik komunikasi kolaborasi oleh Jakmania diimplementasikan melalui tahapan persuasi, dialog, dan komunikasi kolaboratif sekaligus. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa aktor pinggiran semacam kelompok pendukung klub sepakbola dapat menjadi mediator alternatif dalam menyelesaikan konflik. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada: Pertama, pemanfaatan komunikasi kolaboratif sebagai bagian komunikasi strategis dalam ilmu komunikasi. Kedua, kemunculan aktor alternatif dan pola-pola mediasinya dalam menengahi dan menyelsaikan konflik sejenis di tempat lain.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Jakmania; mediasi; Komunikasi kolaboratif; Tawuran; Geng jalanan*

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Komunikasi Kolaboratif Jakmania dalam Mediasi Konflik Antarkelompok

Abstract

Intergroup conflict with the manifestation of brawls are a routine occurrence in Johar Baru Sub-District. Efforts to reconcile the warring parties often fail. Alternative mediation actually comes from Jakmania which offers a new narrative to create peace through collaboration with conflicting parties. This study aims to analyze collaborative communication practices in mediating conflicts between street gangs in Johar Baru Sub-District. To answer the research objectives, this study used a qualitative approach with the

case study method. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with several informants concerned with peace in Johar Baru Sub-District. The results show that the actors involved in conflict mediation are diverse, including security forces, government officials, community forums, and Jakmania. The deadlock in mediation by the police, RW heads and opinion leaders opened up space for 'fringe' actors, namely Jakmania to mediate, and succeed because peace became more lasting/ maintained. The key to Jakmania's success was the use of collaboration, not contestation. Collaborative communication practices by Jakmania are implemented through the stages of persuasion, dialogue and collaborative communication at the same time. This study concludes that fringe actors such as football club supporter can be alternative mediators in resolving conflicts. This research contributes to: First, the use of collaborative communication as part of strategic communication in communication science. Second, the emergence of alternative actors and their mediation patterns in mediating and resolving similar conflicts elsewhere.

Keywords: *Jakmania; Mediation; Collaborative communication; Mass brawls; Street gangs*

INTRODUCTION

Jakarta, as the centre of government and business, has various problems, ranging from population density, poverty, unemployment, and social vulnerability, leading to conflict (Saputra, 2011; Tadjoeddin, Chowdhury, & Murshed, 2012). The results of the mapping of the Jakarta National Unity and Politics Agency Jakarta (BKBP, 2015) show that 16 sub-districts in Jakarta are prone to conflict. Johar Baru Sub-District in Central Jakarta is one of them.

Tadie (2009) explained that conflict had become a recurring event for residents in Johar Baru. In one urban village called Tanah Tinggi, the conflict is apparent such as brawls between villages every day. Simone & Fauzan (2012) mention Tanah Tinggi Village in Johar Baru Sub-District as the most populous urban village in Jakarta and with most mass brawls. With its obvious ethnic diversity and aging infrastructure, Tanah Tinggi is Jakarta's poorest and most dangerous urban village. Two other sub-districts in the Johar Baru Sub-District, namely Galur and Kampung Rawa, have the same circumstance, which is well-known as the most conflict-prone urban village in Jakarta (BKBP, 2015).

The conflicts that arise in Johar Baru Sub-District can be categorized as minor rural-urban social conflicts (Soeharto, 2013), which can also be classified as local conflicts (Barron, Kaiser, & Pradhan, 2009). Tadjoeddin (2002) and Darmajanti, (2013) mention conflicts that often occur in Johar Baru Sub-District are included in collective violence with a sub-category of *civil commotion/ brawls*, namely clashes between villages, residents, or groups.

Wirutomo (2016) explained brawls in Johar Baru Sub-District occurred due to structural factors, culture, and intertwined processes (processual). Structural problems are caused by overpopulation. The lack of land makes poor housing conditions so that the residents live in overcrowded, as stated by Girsang (2020). The cultural factor is triggered by the fact that social life in the sub-district is a "culture of poverty" due to the structural poverty adaptation process that has existed for a long time. Structural poverty, according to Riza (2018), one of which caused by low household consumption expenditure. The fluid, flexible, and negotiable dynamics

of everyday interactions, for example the uses of social media (Fensi, 2020) ultimately create a processual arena.

The emergence of street gangs as results from poverty, unemployment, slums, population density, social exclusion, and limited space for living in the area of residence adds to the complexity of the problem in Johar Baru (Darmajanti, 2013). 40 street gangs often start brawls (Mauliate, Nurlambang, & Ludiro, 2014). They can even attack other groups with their ego (Garvin, 2018) and identity (Lesmana, 2020) anytime. The cause is an old unresolved grudge. In densely populated areas such as Johar Baru Sub-District, resentment easily occur, internalize due to low horizontal mobility quickly. Trivial issues, such as mocking each other on social media, miscommunication, rumours, or provocations, often trigger brawls among groups.

The persistence of brawls between the groups has led to apathy towards efforts to resolve conflicts and peace, which has been mobilized by some parties, including government officials, security forces, religious leaders, and the community. Ruwaida (2017) said that efforts to build social harmony in Johar Baru District are prevention and resolution of the conflict. Prevention means preventing the onset of the conflict, while the resolution aims to end the conflict through a peace agreement between the conflicting parties.

The model of conflict resolution in Johar Baru Sub-District relies on a coercive approach with the police and government officials as actors (Sumarno, 2014). The recent model of conflict resolution uses a participatory approach with dialogue mediated by citizen forums and local government (Oktavia, I Gede Sumerta KY, & Hidayat, 2019). However, this formal legal approach did not create long-term peace. For this reason, 'The outsider' actors came up with an informal and humanist approach to mediate conflicts. The actor is a supporter group of Jakarta football club or Jakmania.

Several studies have succeeded in capturing the role of mediators in resolving inter-group conflicts such as Lumi (2015), Zakimbo (2018), and Huda & Key (2016) researching the government and security forces as mediators. Kurniawan & Syani, (2012) researched arbitration strategies by involving third parties as mediators. Yuliyanto (2016) examined community leaders as mediators in resolving brawls between residents. In contrast with previous studies, this study seeks to analyze the actors' mediating inter-groups conflict from third parties, namely Jakmania, the supporter groups of Jakarta Football Club.

Based on the background previously stated, the research question is how *Jakmania* proposed collaborative communication in mediating inter-group conflicts in Johar Baru. Referring to the research question, the purpose of this study was to analyze *Jakmania's* collaborative communication in mediating inter-group conflicts in Johar Baru Sub-District.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research focuses on intergroup conflicts. Takács (2003) defines intergroup conflict as action of one groups against other groups. Fisher (2006) states that intergroup conflict is reflected in many forms and

situations in society. Brawl is one of them. Kotarumalos (2004) identifies brawls as a form of conflict that has elements of gang fights and social unrest. Besides the community as the target, other elements of brawls include: 1) the actors know each other; 2) the activities of the perpetrators are generally students, school dropouts or unemployed; 3) the number of actors is relatively large; 4) nature of winning or losing; 5) direct confrontation; 6) short duration; 7) small numbers of victims; 8) focus on fixed area; 9) routine event. Elements as stated by Kotarumalos are also found in inter-group conflict in Johar Baru Sub-District with slight differences: 1) the duration is short, 30 minutes-1 hour, but it tend to recur after a pause. For example, brawls during the day will be repeated two or three times on the same day; 2) the focus area is not only fixed, but sometimes it extends to other places. For example, brawls between the Kopar and Bhengal groups on Jalan Mardani, Cempaka Putih. In fact, the focus area of the two groups is around the bridge between Tanah Tinggi and Kampung Rawa.

According to Hagedorn (2008), the emergence of gangs in urban areas caused by population migration, poverty and the failure of formal institutions to overcome these problems. Vigil (2003) states that gangs are synonymous with violence for three reasons: 1) members of the gang have dysfunctional families; 2) joining a gang that has a culture of violence; 3) need money. Gravel, Allison, West-Fagan, McBride, & Tita (2016) argued that gangs tend to be formed from the same ethnicity, even though they are in a multi-ethnic environment, while violence perpetrated by these gangs tends to occur intraracially.

Inter-group conflicts in Johar Baru Sub-District are often triggered by small issues, for example mutual ridicule or arguments when certain group members cross the territory of the others, rumors about something of another particular group, miscommunication, or provocation by outsiders. On the other hand, the group has a high ego, so it always looks down on the enemy group.

To explain the phenomenon above, this study uses social identity theory as an analytical tool in explaining inter-group conflict. Fajar (2016) suggests that the basic assumption of social identity theory is an understanding of social groups and their relationship to conflict. Gallois, McKay, & Pittam (2005) explained that social identity theory assumes a discriminatory process that arises because a group tries to increase forms of similarities between members of one group, while at the same time the group seeks differences from other groups. A number of studies have succeeded in uncovering intergroup conflict through the perspective of social identity theory. For example, Fadila (2014) examines aggressive behavior in motorcycle gangs, or Ralahallo (2009) research on peace between community groups.

Every conflict requires resolution and settlement so that the conflicting parties return to a peaceful situation. Communication, as stated by Hoffmann (2014) and Nomleni, Sumartias, & Setiawan (2019) is a source of peace which is conceptualized as a form of transferring knowledge and ideas to maintain the

expected results. The result can be peace, which at the structural level is manifested in the form of symmetrical, symbiotic and just social relations (Viso, 2014). According to Löhr, Weinhardt, Graef, & Sieber (2018) collaborative communication is a crucial factor in conflict resolution management. Collaborative communication, according to Joshi (2022), is one of the cornerstones in strategic communication. Viso (2014) states that there is a close relationship between conflict resolution communication, conflict transformation, peace, and social change. All of which are in the realm of collaborative communication.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study applied a qualitative approach with case study design (Yin, 2009). According to Stake (2009) case study is employed to examine a particular case to find a perspective on an issue or improvement of a theory presented. In instrumental type of case study, the researcher intends to show something unique that can be learned from a case, which is different from the explanations obtained from other objects. The data collection technique for this research was in-depth interviews. Sources of data for in-depth interviews are purposively-selected informants and snowball sampling. The informants (Table 1) consist of street gang actors, citizen forums, Jakmania, and opinion leaders.

Table 1. Research informant

No	Informant	Category	Explanation
1	LK	Opinion Leader	Head of Citizens Association (RW)
2	DD	Opinion Leader	Citizen forum
3	HR	Opinion Leader	Head of RW and Citizen forum
4	AL	Actor	Had undergone behavioral rehabilitation
5	IK	Actor	Longest street gangs member
6	GO	Jakmania	Founder of Jakmania Tanah Tinggi
7	ER	Jakmania	Former street gangs member and activist of Jakmania Kampung Rawa
8	MF	Jakmania	Jakmania Johar Baru

Source: research result (2022)

Analysis of the research data used the model of Miles, Huberman, & Saldana (2014): reduction, presentation, and conclusion. Data reduction includes summarizing data, coding, tracing themes, and creating clusters. The aim is to sharpen, classify, remove unnecessary, so that final conclusions can be drawn. The presentation of data includes narration and visualization of data, for example through graphs and charts, while researchers draw conclusions continuously while in the field.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mapping the Mediator

Several mediators are involved in efforts to resolve inter-group conflicts in the Johar Baru Sub-District, including

security forces, government officials, citizen forums, and community organizations. The identification of the typology of mediators refers to Moore (2004) view: (1) social network mediators; (2) authoritative mediators; (3) independent mediators. A social network mediator is those chosen because of the existence of a social network or relationship. An authoritative mediator is chosen because the person concerned has the competency or authority. An independent mediator is chosen for professional considerations.

The security officers are mediator of social relations, which means they can use their influence and authority to pressure the parties to encourage to come to an agreement (Moore, 2004). Informant with initial IK also acknowledged the role of the security officers. According to him, when a brawl broke out, the chief of sector police of Johar Baru played a conciliatory role, though the next day, the brawl broke out again.

Informant LK said a particular approach was chosen to mediate brawls between groups. It is used because inter-groups fighting in the Johar Baru were unique in which they appeared with unclear problems. Therefore, the usual approach is unlikely to work. He says:

> *"...If the problem is clear and the group can take care of it. For example, the battle between FBR and PP, is structurally clear. If they have a leader from each group (let's say A and C), we will mediate. But what if it's like this, they've disbanded, and it's not clear who is responsible, even though each one acts on behalf of the group. If that's the case, the next day there could be another fight." (Informant LK, interview on August 19, 2022).*

Facing such things, said informant LK, the police must intensively provide counseling. In addition, special patrols every particular night like Sunday nights, are also conducted. The police must also have the courage to act with coercion to settle the brawl. Furthermore, LK stated:

> *"Indeed, that approach is not possible. We also have to look at the conditions. If it's conducive, we'll just have a chat, but if it's hot, we're coercive, they'll be afraid. Then if a special approach is open, the situation is still good."(Informant LK, interview on August 19, 2022).*

One of the extraordinary efforts of the police in resolving the brawl in the Johar Baru sub-district was by issuing a peace declaration. According to the informant HR, the five pledges of will has been signed by Johar Baru residents along with the Central Jakarta City Government and National Armed Forces (TNI), on May 29, 2016, containing: 1) legal proceedings against the perpetrators of riots/ brawls/ drugs/ liquor/ sharp weapons and firecrackers; 2) The operating hours of internet cafes and PlayStation (PS) rental limit until 10.30 p.m.; 3) Residents are prohibited from gathering more than 11:00 p.m., with considerable potential to cause disturbance to the National Security and Security Council; 4) Place patrol cars at vulnerable points and conducting raids on motorized vehicles; and 5) All elements of society and the Three Pillars (Police, Army, City Government) are obliged to monitor the residents' will of the Johar Baru sub-district.

The consequence of the declaration is that the brawlers are considered criminals. Therefore, imprisonment or behavioral rehabilitation awaits the perpetrators, who are proven to be brawl actors. The declaration also cut off the communication process in conflict resolution.

The exclusion of street gangs as 'parties' in the pledge of the will of the citizens made the declaration not strong. They were being positioned as 'stepchildren,' and the coercive approach of the police force the rebellious spirit of the group to be stronger. As a result, the expected peace did not occur. Fights between groups continued.

Another mediator is government officials. The heads of the citizens association (RW) were the government's partner in handling conflicts. They are usually social relations mediators which means that apart from using influence and authority to pressure the parties to agree. They generally also have a relationship with the conflicting parties.

Informant HR said that frequent brawls made him and other community leaders try to find a solution, for example, face-to-face with the perpetrators by giving advices to avoid conflicts and other efforts. However, the brawl kept on repeating. He said

> *" Our experienced, for example, if the conflicts occurred between the neighbourhood's member. We made meeting and discussion with the parties involved conflicts, their parents and the head of the RW. The problem is that there is no law, sir, the conflicts solved, Alhamdulillah I can handle it. But now, if the conflicts among RW members, it's difficult because people are running away so it's not finished."(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022)*

Furthermore, according to HR, the communication efforts carried out were talking face-to-face with the actors, especially at the RT level, because interpersonal communication would be difficult if it is RW level because it has a broader scope. He explained that the teenagers who were the perpetrators of the brawl were called, accompanied by their parents to reconcile. HR says:

> *"We always tell them that prisoners are detrimental to everyone, destroying people's homes. We say that if the student is a student, we will revoke his KJP. If he is admitted to the hospital, we will not give him the KIS letter, we will not give it to him, sir. We always say that. So now, everybody knows each other, why do we fight? we must keep the harmony between young people."(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022).*

Persuasive communication is carried out by the Head of RW in conflict mediation. Informant DD stated they are persuasive to deal with brawls, and they do it together with the Head of RT because he is the one who overshadows the residents. He explains:

> *"Unless a minor has been detained by the police, like it or not, we will take care of him. The head of RW sometimes arrives at 3 a.m. to join the crime scene. If it's an adult who has anything to do with the law and has to be arrested, I've never held anyone back; I've never defended our members. If they are guilty, please arrest them. We are always persuasive so that*

> *residents and teenagers are responsible as much as possible for stopping the fighting."(Informant DD, interview on August 15, 2022).*

Informants LK did the same thing. The persuasive effort that was done was advising young people not to hang out or consume a liquor. He understood that the condition of Johar Baru required the young man to leave the house at night because the state of the house was not conducive to occupancy. After all, it was narrow, or there were too many occupants.

Although preventive and persuasive measures have been carried out, in fact, the brawls hasn't stop yet. There are always provocations from another group. In addition, peace efforts are also increasingly tricky because some society members become defenders of the group. The following DD informant stated this:

> *"The brawl is not an RW activity. If there are teenagers who fight, please bear the consequences respectively. But sometimes there are other RWs who defend things like that, which makes the fights appear as if they have the support of their RW."(Informant DD, interview on August 15, 2022).*

The statement from the informant DD above that there are always parties who take advantage of the ongoing brawl in the Johar Baru sub-District. These parties deliberately protect the 'actors' without understanding that brawls are detrimental to actors and other citizens. The persuasion and dialogue that have been carried out become meaningless, and the actors will act again.

In addition to security forces and government officials, the community forum is one of the parties contributing to being a mediator. Based on the type of mediator, the citizen forum is an authoritative, benevolent mediator. The citizen forum may or may not have a relationship with the parties but still seek the best solution for the disputants. In addition, it is impartial and has the resources to assist the monitoring and implementation of the agreement.

Sumarno's research (2014) found that for conflict resolution in Johar Baru Sub-District, it is necessary to optimize the existence of citizen forums. These citizen forums include the Community Early Awareness Forum (FKDM), Community Awareness Groups (Pokdarmas), Anti-Violence and Fighting Forum (FAKTA), Citizen Anti-Fighting Forum (FATWA), and Safe Village Community (KKA), and others.

Diding (2003) stated that developing the basic idea to resolve conflict creates an interactive process in a particular social context. The interactive process space can take the form of an inclusive community characterized by three principles, namely cooperation in the formulation of ideas, shared responsibility, and participation. The form of an inclusive community, one of which is a citizen forum. According to Malik (2017), efforts to institutionalize community groups concerned with conflict, in this case through community forums, will encourage broader community participation.

Informant DD stated that the FKDM in his village is obliged to detect and anticipate brawls. Therefore, he patrols every night, detects the presence of dependent children hanging out on the roadside, invites them

to chat, listens to their complaints, and anticipates the worst possibility, namely the emergence of provocations from other groups. DD said:

> *"That goes on every night. But there's also a downside. There are only six of us, patrolling each alley is often not enough."(Informant DD, interview on August 15, 2022).*

Nevertheless, DD admitted that he always makes dialogues and persuades his dependents. So, when having a talk with them in coffee shop, he does not position himself as a member of FKDM but as a friend, a chat buddy, a chess partner, and a partner when singing. He persuades them by trying to touch the feelings of the child. Sentences like, "Yesterday, the village was ransacked by the police, what are you going to do now? and "Then let's just end grumpy style, the poor village and our parents."

With such language, DD was sure to increase intimacy with them. Starting from that intimacy and persuasive message, at least it reduce those who like to fight with other groups. He also admitted that the this way was not very effective because not long after, brawls could reappear.

Concern over the rise of brawls in RW 08 Johar Baru Village was also the reason for the establishment of FAJAR 08 on 19 July 2016. This forum was founded by community leaders and opinion leaders around Kawi-Kawi and Jotet. The forum has full support of the Johar Baru Police and the Johar Baru Village Head.

According to informant HR, the focus of FAJAR 08 activities is preventing brawls. He said that if it happened or the teenagers wanted to fight, the forum will immediately deal with them by approaching them. Because if a brawl occurs, forum members cannot intervene, so anticipating before it happens is a priority. Furthermore, HR said:

> *"Our approach is to mix with the teenagers that we explain that brawls are not good in nature, because they are detrimental to society, all of which is moral and material, so we often approach children to give their views and thank God that's how they respond."(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022)*

The approaching model, as stated above, is dialogical, which emphasizes the similarity of perception between opinion leaders and many brawling actors. What they are looking for in common is an effort to avoid brawls by emphasizing the lousy impact of brawls that will befall the community.

The dialogical model is also balanced with a persuasive communication approach. So, when informant HR met the brawl actors, what was revealed was not patronizing words but persuasive words adapted to the condition of teenagers. Informant HR explained as follows:

> *"We approach it in a conscientious way, we give direction to the view that a brawl conflict is not good because detrimental to all. They are happy to it, we come, we give this view, why there is a brawl, fortunately, is that so."(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022).*

Something becoming a problem for the forum is the lack of support. According to FJ, people do not seem to care about the environment. So, sometimes the forum moves on its own. What is needed is the cooperation of all parties. Fortunately,

the forum still is supported by the police and urban village official and often gets directions so that brawl prevention activities can be more optimal.

Several studies reveal the role of citizen forums in conflict resolution. Listyawati (2019) examines the role of social harmony forums in reducing social conflict in Ambon city. The study results show that the activities of social harmony forums through work programs carrying out church bell repair activities and making footpaths impact community conditions to be conducive, although it is not optimal. Such conditions can occur because of local wisdom, including local values, the role of figures, traditions, and the value of community togetherness. Harsanto (2017) examined strengthening the capacity of the citizen communication forum (FKW) of Ciburial Village in handling social conflicts. The results of the study showed that the capacity of FKWs is getting more decisive in making program plans, management and administration, building networks with social conflict handling institutions, as well as conflict management and social advocacy, which has an impact on the lack of social conflict in the Ciburial Village area. Nurdin (2008) examines the role of agents of change, for example, a citizen forum in handling conflict in Sambas, West Kalimantan. The study showed that the community forum functions to hold regular meetings, formulate joint programs and actions, maintain conflict resolution that has been achieved, monitor and evaluate ongoing activities and improve activities in conflict management.

The Role of Jakmania

The emergence of Jakmania as a conflict mediator hasn't happen yet. Although as a support organization for the Jakarta football club (Persija), Jakmania, especially in Tanah Tinggi and Kampung Rawa, has been presented in the area for a decade, its contribution to peace efforts has only been felt in the last two years. The anxiety of the Regional Coordinators (Korwil) made Jakmania intervene to reconcile the opposing groups. The reason is the bad name that the Johar Baru District bears as a hotbed for brawls. This anxiety met the wishes of most of the gangs members who were already bored and tired of fighting. Moreover, the fact shows that most of the street gangs in Johar Baru are Persija supporters, which means they also have an inner bond with Jakmania. As stated by the following AL informant:

> *"Because we like soccer, so we watch and support soccer club from Jakarta. Jakmania is also what makes us want to watch with the group that is our opponent."(Informant AL, interview on October 10, 2022).*

The informant IK also stated the same thing. According to him, the presence of Jakmania as a community brought a new colour to the condition of Johar Baru, especially Tanah Tinggi, which was previously full of tension and became calmer. The faces of revenge when travelling or just passing through groups have been considered opponents, since Jakmania does not make promises about harmony and peace between groups but it implements them explicitly. As stated by IK below:

So. there is a community that wants all of Johar Baru to be between sections. I do not have to be prestigious. I do not have the prestige of a former enemy. You cannot do it if you want to join the Persija community. You have to get along with each other. Like it or not, it is better if you bring Jakarta instead of carrying around essential parts of one Jakarta. If you want to join, aren't you happy, because the Velbak people also joined here, if you want to think about it again, we people. After all, this is to unite the name community, so the community does not fight at all."(Informant IK, interview on October 25, 2022).

The informant, namely GO, talked about how Jakmania Tanah Tinggi acts as a mediator and maintains peace between gangs that often fight in Tanah Tinggi and its surroundings. The methods used are unique because they combine a coercive approach with a clear communication style and dialogue. It is said to be forced because the stakes are that if a group member joins a brawl, the police will pick him up. If he has been arrested, there is no defence from Jakmania because it has entered the realm of law. The firm communication style tends to be authoritarian and has a loud, booming voice, making GO unite groups that often fight in Johar Baru. GO explains:

"If any of my members are involved in a brawl between villages, I don't want to think of him as a member, I think of him as a provocateur, so I might break his hand. So if they don't like me, I finish them outside. I have an agreement with the police chief when I wanted to build this organization, if a group of people beat my members, don't attack the village in droves, report to us later, we will be the police who will follow up. Thank God, as long as I'm in this village, there's never been a fight, let alone a brawl, because if there's a fight, whatever the problem, I'll be stuck."(Informant GO, interview on October 2, 2022).

Efforts to approach the group were carried out by GO which diligently goes to certain places, visits group members directly, and persuades them to stop the brawl. These efforts paid off because, in the past year, the frequency of brawls was getting decrease. One more thing that became GO's best strategy to unite group members in Johar Baru is conducting meet up) . The aim is to establish more unity and brotherhood among the members of the street gangs.

Guerrilla of GO bringing peace is not alone. Informant ER also took a similar step, who became the Regional Coordinator for Jakmania Kampung Rawa. He told about the early stages of efforts to build peace and brotherhood in Kampung Rawa. Gently, ER went one by one with the gang's leader in Kampung Rawa. According to ER, gangs leader was chosen to be contacted because he has a slang character. Because, working with slang people is more manageable. Next, ER went to another group to offer an invitation to meet up with Persija supporters. The invitation for meeting paid off because more and more gang's leaders and members were interested in joining Jakmania Kampung Rawa and throwing away the group's ego. ER's principle is that if there is goodness programmed by Jakmania, more and more other groups will participate. ER says:

"Initially, we wanted other street gangs to have the same mission, have the same hobbies, and support Persija. Now from this hobby, we have an important point in forming a committee, forming a management, from there we go around Kampung Rawa. It's true that since 2008 Jakmania of Kampung Rawa has been around, he doesn't put it all together. Alhamdulillah, from 2018 it finally developed, I wanted to join."(Informant ER, interview on interview on October 2, 2022).

ER believes that when he has succeeded in holding gang's leaders, his henchmen will follow. However, these efforts do not always success. Because there are many street gangs refusing to join, he also realized that this was a consequence of Jakmania's efforts to bring peace and brotherhood to Rawa village.

In Johar Baru sub-district, the duty of mediation is held by the informant MF. The first attempt he made was to bring Jakmania's mission, namely peace. He conveyed the mission, among others, to the chairman of Jotet. He conveyed a similar mission to Gemvals and Kramat Jaya. He actively communicated with the head of Jotet, to unite. MF says:

"Kramat Jaya and Jotet have a problem, yes, the model is the same as Gemval's old and I am here to embrace them so that there will be no longer grudges. With the existence of Jakmania, finally we are united because there are no hostile supporters in Jakmania. Because the old founders also taught fellow of Jakmania there is no racism, fighting or other problems."(Informant MF, interview on October 2, 2022).

Referring to the view of Moore (2004), Jakmania is an authoritative mediator of vested interests. The reason that Jakmania has a relationship with the parties has a strong interest in the outcome, seeks a solution that can meet the interests of the mediator and the parties. In addition, Jakmania has the resources to assist monitoring the agreement and occasionally pressuring parties to reach an agreement.

Based on the explanations of the mediating actors, Jakmania's first attempt to reconcile the street gangs was visiting and meeting to the gangs leaders, then the results of the discussion were conveyed to other street-gang members. Another thing to do is to establish friendship and social activities, either in the context of Persija's birthday or in commemoration of holy days.

The discussion between Jakmania and the gangs' leader mediators is undoubtedly as easy as we think. There are some paths, including rejection when the Jakmania mediator offers a narrative of peace. It is the counter-narrative that makes negotiations towards peace mediation difficult.

Table 2. The Narrative of Jakmania vs. the counter-narrative of the street gangs

Narrative of Jakmania	Counter Narrative	Negotiation for Mediation
The name Jakmania in Johor Baru is also bad. Stop fighting	You can make peace, but we are in Johar Baru so that no one is pretentious. We are all the same.	The rioters and provocateurs were reported to the police, the Jakmania Membership Card (KTA) was revoked.

We all have to unite, no group frills.	It›s nice of you to say, that›s the name of my group before Jakmania where to go. I just want to join if the condition for the group name doesn›t disappear.	Flags, logos and group identities may still be present but must include the Sub district coordinator, for example, Jakmania City of Paris, Sub district coordinator of Tanah Tinggi.
If it is peaceful, the ticket quota will be divided equally.	From the start it is difficult. The management is like that, if you do not follow, it is hard to get a ticket.	The ticket allocation is recorded for those who have given a down payment but will give it when it is paid off

Source: Research Result (2022)

After there has been an agreement for peace under the Jakmania, they began to mediate. The mediation consists of two parts, namely initialization, and finalization. The initialization stage consists of persuasive communication and dialogue, while the finalization stage consists of peace and collaborative communication.

Persuasive communication is carried out by inviting gangs leaders to meet, 'heart to heart' to discuss the peace process with other groups. After receiving a signal of agreement, then a dialogue is carried out by taking certain moments. The peace that has occurred is then maintained by preventing the possibility of friction. Collaborative communication is the impact of the peace that has been achieved, namely by inviting groups to do social activities together and watch together when Persija is competing in hometown.

Based on the mediation described earlier, a resume regarding the position of the mediator, the actors involved, communication practices, and the results of the mediation can be made as follows:

Table 3. Typology of mediators and their communication practices

Mediator	Type of Mediator	Actors	Mediation Characteristic	Communication Practice	Result
Security Officers	Social Relation	Police	Sporadic	coercive More towards counselling	-Incidental, -conflicts tend to reappear, -Peace declaration Rehabilitation for actors

Government Official	Social Relation	The Head of RW	Sporadic	Coercive Interpersonal Communication	Tend to reappear, especially the fact that there are RW members who actually take sides
Citizen Forum	Authoritative benevolent	Opinion Leader	Sustainable	Dialogue Persuasive communication	Tend to reappear
Jakmania	Vested Interest	Jakmania Regional Coordinators	Sustainable	Meet Up Dialogue Persuasive communication Collaborative communications	Peace is more lasting

Source: Research result (2022)

Table 3 shows that mediation carried out by security officers, government officials, and community forums has not brought satisfied result because brawls still occur more and more. The Jakmania mediation is different. With a collaborative communication approach, as Monk (2008) proposed, the peace that builds between fighting groups tends to last longer. During observations and post-research, almost no significant brawls is found during this period. According to the Johar Baru Sub-District Sector Police (KSJB, 2018) in Table 4, there is a tendency to decrease the number of brawls from 2016 to 2018.

Table. 4. Number and Fatality of Conflicts in The Johar Baru Sub-District, Central Jakarta

Year	Number of conflicts (times)	Fatality		
		Died	Injuries	damaged buildings/ vehicles
2016	33	2	2	2
2017	31	-	4	5
2018	6 (until April)	na	na	na

Source: The Johar Baru Sub-District Sector Police (KSJB, 2018)

In addition to mediation results, differences can also be seen in communication practices between mediators where the government chose mass gathering strategies, face to face and the use of conventional media, such as posters, banners and leaflets, as well as persuasive communication. The citizen forum applied interpersonal communication and new media, especially WhatsApp, while the Jakmania used new media, especially social media, social networking, and face-to-face through meeting up. Another difference lies in the motivators for changing conflict behaviour. Government and security officers used opinion leaders as motivators,

while citizen forums used family as their immediate environment to motivate them. The Jakmania mediator used the invitation to cooperate in community activities

The presence of Jakmania as a local conflict mediator is in line with Mutisi's (2011) research on the role of grassroots groups as mediators of local conflict after the bloody conflict in Rwanda. Shea (2016) also stated the same thing who stated that organizations/ groups outside the government played a vital role as conflict mediators. So far, the role of football supporter groups as mediators of local conflicts has only been found in Jakmania in Johar Baru sub-district, as the findings of this study.

In a broader perspective, if there is a conflict between groups because one group discriminates against another group as assumed in social identity theory, then the conflict resolution does not require a formal-legal approach, but rather by looking for another group figure who is not part of the conflicting group but has an understanding over the conflicting groups as played by Jakmania.

CONCLUSION

Identification of the mediators found four actors who played a significant role in the peace settlement process: the police, the head of society association, opinion leaders, and the Jakmania Regional Coordinator. The deadlock in mediation by the police, heads of society, and opinion leaders has opened up space for the 'peripheral' actor, namely Jakmania, to mediate and then has succeeded because the peace became more maintained. Jakmania carries out some communication practices as a mediator. Persuasive communication is carried out by inviting group leaders to meet and discuss the peace process with other groups. Dialogue is done by taking certain moments. The peace that is built is maintained by preventing the possibility of friction. Collaborative communication is carried out by inviting groups to do social activities and watch together when Persija competing at hometown.

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Indigenous Religious Believers' Experience to Manage Stigma in Indonesia

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Abstract

The state acknowledges the existence of indigenous religious believers, yet given the social stigma since considered primitive, heresy, and even atheist. The stigma given to the indigenous religious believers negatively results in personal and social relationships eventually influencing the believers' life aspects. Thus, the stigma management communication strategies of the believers are essential when interacting with other people in their environments. This research depicts how indigenous religious believers manage the stigma of living in society. It was conducted in Banyumas, Central Java, Indonesia. The 28 groups of believers were listed on Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan YME (MLKI) of Banyumas. The study used a phenomenological approach. The data were collected through in-depth interviews with 10 participants from some communities of believers. Seventeen years participants were selected using a snowball sampling technique. The researchers then classified them into some categories based on the predetermined themes. The research finding showed that stigma limited the believers' interactions with non-believers. In responding to these stigmas, the believers developed different management communication strategies: accepting, denying by providing information, denying by discrediting the discreditor, avoiding, reducing offensiveness, and ignoring.

Keywords: *Management communication; Stigma; Indigenous religion; Believer; Identity*

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Pengalaman Penghayat dalam Mengelola Stigma di Indonesia

Abstrak

Penghayat kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa meskipun keberadaannya diakui oleh negara namun seringkali menjadi kelompok yang mendapat stigma sosial karena dianggap primitif, sesat bahkan ateis. Stigma yang disematkan pada penghayat kepercayaan berdampak negatif pada hubungan personal dan sosial serta mempengaruhi semua aspek kehidupan penghayat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui strategi manajemen komunikasi stigma penghayat saat berinteraksi dengan masyarakat di lingkungannya. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Banyumas, kabupaten yang terletak di Jawa Tengah. Jumlah kelompok penghayat yang terdaftar pada Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan YME (MLKI) Kabupaten Banyumas sebanyak 28 paguyuban. Hal

tersebut menandakan bahwa Kabupaten Banyumas merupakan wilayah yang multikultur sehingga upaya untuk membangun masyarakat inklusif merupakan tanggung jawab semua pihak. Oleh karena itu peneliti melakukan riset untuk mendapatkan gambaran bagaimana penghayat kepercayaan mengelola stigma dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif menggunakan metode fenomenologi. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap 10 partisipan penelitian yang berasal dari beberapa komunitas penghayat. Partisipan berusia 17 tahun ke atas dan diperoleh dengan metode snowball sampling. Dari data yang terkumpul, peneliti bagi menjadi beberapa kategori berdasarkan tema-tema yang telah disusun. Penelitian menunjukkan bahwa stigma membatasi interaksi penghayat dengan orang yang bukan penghayat. Dalam menghadapi stigma, penghayat mengembangkan strategi komunikasi yang berbeda antara satu dengan yang lain yaitu dengan cara menerima, menyangkal dengan memberikan informasi, menyangkal dengan mendiskreditkan orang yang memberi stigma, menghindar, mengurangi tekanan dan mengabaikan stigma yang ditujukan kepadanya.

Kata kunci: *Manajemen komunikasi; Stigma; penghayat; Penganut kepercayaan; Identitas*

INTRODUCTION

Based on data from the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registration (Dukcapil), Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri), 102,508 people in Indonesia acknowledged themselves as indigenous religious believers in June 2020. It equals to 0.04% of the Indonesian population, recently reaching 272.23 million people (Kusnandar, 2021).

Indigenous religious believers have been living throughout Indonesia for decades. Ministry of Education and Culture, through the Directorate of Indigenous Religious Beliefs and Traditions recorded 187 indigenous religious believers in 13 Provinces, of which 53 groups are in Central Java (Putra, 2017).

Although the believers have already been able to mention their belief in their Indonesian Identity Card since 2017, many still need to change their previous religion mentioned in the column for religion in their Indonesian Identity Card. They still worried of being discriminated against by by others, knowing their belief through their Indonesian Identity Card.

The main threat to minority religious groups is being subjected to bias (Pasek & Cook, 2019). The indigenous religious believers in Indonesia feel that their identity inhibits their moves and activities. The social stigma adhered to by these groups makes them inhibited when making the personal and social relationships with the other people living in their environments. Psychologically, the believers need more confident with their Indonesian Identity Cards. Thus, it can be threaten the next generations of indigenous religious believers.

In Banyumas Regency, 28 groups of indigenous religious believers listed in 2017 (Findi, 2017). Those groups were facilitated by Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Indonesia (MLKI) of Banyumas Regency. MLKI is the only national institution enabling Indonesia's indigenous religious belief organizations. Although the number of groups is considered many, their existence in Banyumas Regency is still unseen due to the tendency to hide their identity resulting from the stigma in their environments. Stigma shows people's discredited identity

or questioned moral status (Goffman, 1963). At least there are three stigma types: physical, social, and ethical (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Who and what to become the stigma vary depending on time, place, and group. Humans will always face the stigma since stigma builds group solidarity differentiating insiders and outsiders.

The need to manage someone's stigma has resulted from the relationship between stigma and adverse outcomes, such as deficient social identity, stereotypes, discrimination, and refusal. The other negative impacts of stigma include low confidence, decreased health, and increased anxiety (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Therefore, this research aims to depict how indigenous religious believers manage the stigma of living in society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on indigenous religious believers from the perspective of communication sciences still need to be conducted. The previously worked research has just observed the indigenous religious believers from the spiritual and religious views, legal aspects of fulfilling believers' rights (Rohmawati, 2020) and symbols when making rituals or prayers based on their beliefs (Khoirnafiya, 2020). The observed stigma is mostly from occupations, physical conditions, or health instead of that sourced from the following thoughts. This article will qualitatively discuss the stigma attached to the indigenous religious believers in Banyumas.

From the communication perspective, someone's vulnerability or resiliency to stigma focuses on how someone fights and reacts against stigma. A stigma is social construct based on an individual's stigmatized or non-stigmatized good perception. Since considered a social construct, stigma is not something permanent, yet it possibly changes following the discourse and material conditions making someone stigmatized (Meisenbach, 2010).

Rebecca J. Meisenbach developed the typology of stigma management communication strategies when someone was stigmatized. According to Meisenbach, individuals will choose the Stigma Management Communication strategies based on their attitudes toward implementing public stigma addressed to them and those to fight against or defend other people's perception of stigma.

The social stigma attached to the indigenous religious believers limited their moves and expressions. As a minority group, indigenous religious believers should create robust discourse and identity to grow their confidence. Confidence and pride in their group can be energy to express their existence in society and mutually realize inclusive communities.

METHODS

This study used qualitative research methods. Qualitative research explores and understands the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The research data were analyzed using a phenomenological approach to explore participants' experiences facing stigma. A phenomenological study describes the ordiary meaning for several individuals

of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell John W. & Poth Cheryl N., 2018).

To obtain in-depth data, the researchers selected the key informants using a purposive sampling technique and the following informants using a snowball sampling technique. Using those techniques, the researchers obtained 10 informants per the predetermined criteria, such as the believers joined in groups of believers listed in MLKI, aged varying from 20 to 60 years old, as well as various genders, marital status, and family backgrounds. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. The obtained data were then descriptively analyzed using manual data analysis procedures, starting by making interview transcripts and field notes, and then coded by identifying some keywords and phrases categorized to build certain themed groups (Setiansah, Novianti, Rahmawati, & Agustina, 2021).

The researchers used source- and method-based on triangulation techniques to improve the data validity. The source-based triangulation was conducted by comparing the data obtained from different sources, such as other informants. Meanwhile, method-based triangulation was conducted by comparing the data obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation. Triangulation is undertaken to bring truth and understand and interpret the data (Sugiyono, 2018).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research involved ten participants obtained using a snowball sampling technique. The participants were from four groups of believers in Banyumas: Kerohanian Sapta Darma, Kapribaden, Rukun Warga, and Pengudian Tri Tunggal Bayu.

Table 1. Profile of Participants

Name (Initial)	Age	Gender	Occupation	Group Name
Ang	35	F	Social Worker	Kerohanian Sapta Darma
Aj	33	M	Private Employee	Kapribaden
Si	30	M	Belief Extension Worker, still studying belief education believer	Kapribaden
Am	30	M	entrepreneur	Kapribaden
Ty	32	F	Librarianship Student	Rukun warga
Fe	40	F	Librarian	Rukun warga
Agr	22	M	Student	Pengudian Tri Tunggal Bayu
Wa	22	F	Student	Kerohanian Sapta Darma
Spr	64	M	retired Civil Servant	Rukun warga
Ad	44	F	Student	Kerohanian Sapta Darma

Source: processed by the researchers

The paths becoming indigenous religious believers vary among the participants. Some participants were born and raised in the believers' families; others were from families with one of the majority religions in Indonesia.

The identity as a new believer can be included in his Indonesian Identity Card since 2018 following the Constitutional Court Verdict No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016 officially applied by the government. Before the verdict was issued, the column for religion in the Indonesian Identity Card was left empty. Then it triggered the occurrence of stigma and discrimination against indigenous religious believers. Many believers were forced to follow a religion acknowledged by the government to meet the administrative requirements.

Ang, Ty, Fe, Agr, Wa, and Ad were born to the indigenous religiously believing parents. However, since attending their elementary schools, their written religion was "Islam" to ease their school administration. They had to receive Islamic religious teaching materials, yet they did their prayers at home based on their indigenous religious beliefs.

Ang said that since childhood, she was taught by her mother Sapta Darma prayers, but she became an indigenous religious believer after graduating from Senior High School.

"Since childhood, my mother introduced and taught me: Sapta Darma starting from its religious teachings and prayers, yet when attending the educational institutions, I did *sholat* (obligatory Islamic prayers) since there were only 5 acknowledged religions at school. I became an indigenous religious believer after graduating from Senior High School" (Ang).

Table 2. Paths to become an indigenous religious believer

Name	When starting to become a believer
Ang	Since childhood ,when Sapta Darma was first introduced and taught by her mother and then she decided to ultimately become a believer after graduating from Senior High School.
Aj	From a Moslem family. After going to college, he decided to become an indigenous religious believer.
Si	From a Moslem family and becoming an indigenous religious believer since at Senior High School
Am	From a Moslem Family, becoming an indigenous religious believer in college
Ty	From a family of indigenous religious believers, written with the religion of Islam from Elementary School to College, married in Islam, after 2018 changing the religion column in her Indonesian Identity Card into an indigenous religious believer.
Fe	From a family of indigenous religious believers, written with the religion of Islam from Elementary School to College, married as an indigenous religious believer,
Agr	From a family of indigenous religious believers born as indigenous religious believers, yet written with the religion of Islam from Elementary School to Junior High School. Attending Senior High School as an indigenous religious believer
Wa	From a family of indigenous religious believers, yet written with the religion of Islam from Elementary School to Senior High School. When reaching the age of 17 years old, she was confident to write in the religion column of her Indonesian Identity Card as an indigenous religious believer
Spr	Since 1985, we have become indigenous religious believers, so, the religion column was left empty on his Indonesian Identity Card. In 1985, he was considered an atheist since he thought having no religion.

Ad	From a family of indigenous religious believers, yet she was written with the religion of Islam from Elementary School to Junior High School. Attending Senior High School, she dared to show her identity as an indigenous religious believer.

Source: processed by the researchers

Wa and Ad at the age of 17 years old, in which Indonesian citizens were obliged to have the Indonesian Identity Card and decided to follow their parents' beliefs. Initially, their parents disagreed because they worried about their children's future. However, Wa and Ad could assure their parents that they were able and strong enough to face the risks as indigenous religious believers.

Figure 1. Indonesian Identity Cards of Indigenous religious believers in Indonesia

(a) Indonesian Identity Card with the religion column left empty

(b) Indonesian Identity Card with the written religion as an Indigenous religious believer

Source: Document by the researchers

Stigma Addressed to the Believers

The believers' life is inseparable from stigma. The research participants also confessed that the stigma has contributed to how they behave in their social life. The stigmas attached to the believers were as follows:

Heresy

Indigenous religious believers were frequently stigmatized as followers of heresy. All they did had the meanings believed by the adherents as explained by Fe as follows:

> *"The stigma given by the society had been attached to the indigenous religious believers that they were considered heresy, because some religions thought that what they believed was heresy: had no God, different worshiping ways, and different holy-book-like. It was a classical belief, but people sometimes said that the believers worshiped the trees. When we made offerings, those were considered that we were feeding demons and considered mystical, yet actually not as they thought since everything has purposes."*

Shaman

The believers were also stigmatized by society as shamans, as explained by Aj as follows:

> *"Since meeting for the first time, many friends have laughed at me. My office colleagues and village friends also said that I was considered a shaman."*

Worshiping Demons

Stigma as demon worshipers is also given to the indigenous religious believers, as explained by Si:

> *"People commonly viewed that the believers were in a relationship with supernatural things, such as by burning benzoin, considering that the believers were having communications with supernatural creatures, yet it was only a media for meditation; offerings were also presumably presented for supernatural creatures, yet in facts, they were just offerings known as 'sejati rasa siji' representing hopes which cannot be conveyed verbally but in the forms of feelings depicted not for humans but the whole universe as the realization of feelings manifested in the forms of offerings. In ancient times, the offerings were in the form of flowers in seven colors, yet recently only a glass of plain water, plain tea/coffee, and yellow water. With a glass of plain water, we realized that we were from the holy water (sperm) of our parents to develop better generations, a glass of plain tea or coffee as a form of bitter life challenges and yellow rice as the manifestation of prosperity."*

Members of the Communist Party banned in Indonesia

The indigenous religious believers did not follow the religions acknowledged by the Indonesian government, so they were considered as a part of the forbidden organization in Indonesia. Am explained it to the researchers:

> *"People who did not follow one of the acknowledged religions in Indonesia were considered a part of the forbidden organization, heresy, and others, thus, having significant impacts."*

The other participant, Ty also explained that her father was a believer who was once humiliated by his mother-in-law by saying that her father was a member of the communist party. Ty was distraught. Moreover, she also told that to her child.

> *"My child once said to me that the grandfather was a member of the communist party because he did not sholat, had no religion. In fact, my child was still in Grade II of Elementary School."*

Atheist

The believers were also stigmatized as atheists. Wa mentioned her experience that her friends considered her an atheist.

> *"My friend considered me as a fanatic and atheist person, yet I then explained that based on the Verdict issued by the Constitutional Law, the indigenous religious believers have been legally acknowledged so that my friend started excepting my explanations."*

Bullying Experienced by the Believers

Becoming a minority with various stigmas attached to the believers made participants susceptible to being bullied by families, friends, teachers, working partners, or the surrounding communities. One of the participants, Wa explained that when worshiping, he was considered weird by the people.

> *"When we were worshiping, many people cynically noticed and even a child once threw something to our worshiping place." (Wa).*

The other participant, Fe mentioned that finding a school for her daughter took work. Some schools frequently refused her daughter since there was no education for the indigenous religious believers in the related schools. Fe's daughter has been bullied by her peers. Fe moved her daughter to a school concerned with pluralism value, so the student could play and study without fear of being seen as a minority group. Within the school environment, students from minority groups will join groups to face discrimination and prejudice from the larger community. Even some students will assert their religious identity when faced with adversity (Boucher & Kucinskas, 2016).

Another participant, Ad revealed that she was once humiliated in front of the class because the teacher asked her about religion, as she told the researcher during the interview:

Ad : I was ashamed in grade 10 of a Senior High School. My teacher asked me to come to the front of the class and discuss my religion.

Researcher : What teacher was he/she?

Ad : Physics. There was no relationship with physics. I said that I was an indigenous religious believer. What kind of religion was that? I answered, 'Maybe you do not know, sir. However, you can Google and figure it out by surfing through the internet.' I was ashamed because the teacher asked me.

Although it happened long ago, Ad considered it an unforgettable experience and has not forgotten it since being humiliated in front of her friends. Spr, a senior believer who was also a presidium at MLKI Banyumas, also explained:

> *"Becoming a believer is not easy, requiring a huge effort to deal with society. About bullying, society extraordinarily connoted the believers as shamans and demon friends… I was one of ten siblings and considered an enemy because I was different from the others. All my brothers and sisters were Moslems. Since 1985, I have had the Identity as an indigenous religious believer, so there was no religion written on my Indonesian Identity card. I was considered atheist and had no religion."*

Strategy to Manage Stigma

The responses that participants gave when they were in a situation where they were stigmatized differed from one another. Ang said that "It is OK if some people considered my heresy. I don't want to debate over beliefs since there will be no meeting points."

In contrast to Ang, who tended to accept, several participants denied the stigma. According to Aj, he will try to explain to the stigmatized person that an indigenous religious believer is not as bad as they think.

Another participant, Spr, has even ignored the existing stigma. Instead, he shows his identity and behavior as a believer to the people around him.

There were six Stigma Management Communication (SMC) strategies: accepting, avoiding, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, denying, and ignoring/displaying (Meisenbach, 2010). The categorization results in the participants' experiences when responding to those stigmas.

By following the categorization by Meisenbach, the stigma management communication strategies used by indigenous religious believers in this study are as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Stigma Management Communication Strategies of Believers in Indonesia

Name	Stigma Management Communication Strategies
Ang	Accepting
Aj	Denying by providing evidence/ information
Si	Avoiding
Am	Denying by discrediting the discreditors
Ty	Reducing offensiveness
Fe	Denying by providing information
Agr	Denying by providing information
Wa	Denying by providing information
Spr	Ignoring/Displaying
Ad	Avoiding

Source: processed by the researchers

Stigma threatens the regeneration of indigenous religious believers. In Indonesia, most people want their children to follow their religion. There is even child abuse when their children decide to embrace a religion different from that of their parents (Nurtjahyo, 2021). Differently, this does not occur with the believers' families. The believers even ask their children not to follow their beliefs. The children had to choose one of the six religions acknowledged by the Government (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hindu, Buddhism, and Confucianism) when they are 17 years old, where Indonesian citizens must have a Resident Identity Card. Therefore, the religious difference is familiar in the believers' families since religion or belief is negotiable for them (Harnish, 2021). Parents' decision in the believers' families encouraging them to choose one of the religions officially acknowledged by the Indonesia Government can certainly not be separated from the dark history of believers' past life in the country. The G 30 S/PKI event 1965 changed the believers' peaceful life in Indonesia into darkness. The believers were positioned as part of the event. The stigmatization that connected the believers to the 1965 tragedy caused the believers' mass exodus to other "official" religions. Those who kept being believers became a class two community under that of religions officially acknowledged by the state (Budijanto, 2016). Unsurprisingly, some informants stated that one stigma they received was that they were assumed part of PKI, leading to discriminative behaviors they had to receive. Choosing to encourage their children not to be believers is undoubtedly the best choice for believers' families in avoidance of stigmatization in the context of that time. The rise of conservative views is also a threat to the existence of indigenous religious believers because people who lack respect for social diversity are increasing (Jubba, Awang, Qodir, Hannani, & Pabbajah, 2022).

Stigma is attaching a "mark" or brand that separates an individual from other individuals based on the community's evaluation that a person or a group of people are deemed to "have defamed or be lower than" them (Pescosolido, Martin,

Lang, & Olafsdottir, 2008). With such a stigma definition, stigmatizing a person or group of people leads to opposing views, stereotypes, prejudice, desire to ignore or keep the stigmatized group away from the majority, and other various discriminative treatments. In the face of stigma, the participants applied different strategies. Out of the ten participants, five chose to deny by presenting evidence or information on believers (Denying), two decided to avoid, one chose to reduce offensiveness, one decided to show the existing stigma (Displaying), and one chose to accept the stigma. This choice of strategies is a discursive action. They contemplated any risks which might arise from the stigma they received and chose the stigma management strategy most comfortable for them.

In observance of this research's results, in which five believers or half of the informants chose to reject the stigma attached to them by presenting evidence or information on believers to others, this way is correct. Avoiding will not disappear the stigma people typically give since they need to help understand what the believers do or practice. They define the indigenous religious believer's phenomena based on a piece of information inherited hereditarily, either formally or through historical books or culturally through word of mouth that often contains bias therein. Giving complete information and building external party's understanding of stigmatized groups is also recommended by the US Drug Policy Commission to reduce the stigmatization of drug abusers (UK Drug Policy Commission, 2010). Stigma on drug abusers is deemed getting more severe, and giving treatment and therapy to ex-users gets more complicated. Improving the public's knowledge and understanding of stigmatized groups will reduce fear of or blaming them. Eliminating or at least reducing negative stigma on indigenous religious believers cannot be done only from believers' perspective, since as Goffman said, stigma is a social phenomenon rooted in social relationships and formed by the community's culture and structure (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). Therefore, the surrounding environment and society must reduce stigma by improving the community's knowledge and understanding of indigenous religious believers.

Although rejection and presentation of information of indigenous religious believers are deemed the best ways the face stigma, these do not necessarily make other choices taken by the believers to face stigma, such as avoiding and ignoring stigma wrong ways. However, there is no single correct way for all people in the face of stigma. With different problems, conditions, and contexts each person faces, believers cannot always apply the same way in the face of stigma. Stigmatized group members are generally aware that what they do does not always influence themselves but their community members, which naturally strengthens the negative stigma on the group (Levin & Laar, 2016). Therefore, many group harmony-oriented people decide to be non-confrontational to those who stigmatize them. Likewise, the informants in this research have different social-cultural background, age, gender, occupation and education. Thus, they indeed have different ways in the face of

such stigma. How they deal with stigma is a strategy they use to survive in social change (Chakim, 2022).

The research participants indeed chose different ways to face any stigma they received, which some were avoiding, denying, and ignoring. However, not all of them agreed on the stigma given to them. They hoped that all believers would be willing to show their existence since they were sure that with their different existence shown, the community would accept them. The results of this research conform to the study entitled The Self-Concept of Indigenous Religious Believers in Yayasan Cendekiawan Kampung Indonesia (Ardiansyah, 2022), revealing that the indigenous religious believers have positive self-regard and self-concept. They want to be placed and treated equally to other communities. One of the believers in Yayasan Cendekiawan Kampung Indonesia from Buru Island, Maluku said that he took higher education to bring and make the believers in his region of origin, Widit Adat Community in Buru Island, to betterment.

CONCLUSION

Living a minority in a heterogeneous society has many challenges. One of those challenges is defending and fighting against stigmas attached to a minority group. Indigenous religious believers in Banyumas were stigmatized as heresy, shamans, demon worshipers, and part of the criminal organization in Indonesia (known as PKI/Indonesian Communist Party), and atheists. Those stigmas brought considerable impacts on the believers' life. Some believers confidently attached their identity as indigenous religious believers to their Indonesian Identity Card. However, many others were still with their previously written religion, yet they worshiped based on their beliefs in their daily life. This dualism was still something familiar and understood by the believers.

In responding to these stigmas, the believers developed different management communication strategies: accepting, denying by providing information, denying by discrediting the discreditors, avoiding, reducing offensiveness, and ignoring. The believers believed that by showing their existence and giving information related to their belief to the Almighty God, acknowledged and protected by the Indonesian government, those stigmas were gradually eliminated.

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Examining Rumor Dissemination and Information Equivocality in Social Media Behavior

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the impact of rumor dissemination and information equivocality on discontinuance behavior when influencers face negative rumors. As an influencer's follower count decreases, their credibility weakens, thereby reducing the effectiveness of product representation through brand ambassadors. The study adopted a quantitative approach with a purposive sampling criteria, comprising a total sample size of 191 participants. The test results indicate that rumor dissemination does not significantly affect social media fatigue, while information equivocality does influence it. Additionally, the study demonstrates a positive association between rumor dissemination, information equivocality, and discontinuance behavior. Social media fatigue does not mediate the effect of rumor dissemination on discontinuance behavior; however, information equivocality partially mediates this relationship. The study highlights the relevance of the agenda-setting theory when influencers face negative rumors and information equivocality. In conclusion, negative rumors contribute to a decrease in followers due to rumor dissemination and information equivocality on social media.

Keywords: *Rumor Dissemination; Information Equivocality; Social Media Fatigue; Discontinuance Behavior*

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Menguji Penyebaran Rumor dan Ketidakjelasan Informasi pada Perilaku Bermedia Sosial

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dampak penyebaran rumor dan ketidakjelasan informasi terhadap perilaku berhenti menggunakan media sosial ketika influencer menghadapi rumor negatif. Ketika jumlah pengikut seorang influencer berkurang, kredibilitasnya menjadi lemah, sehingga mengurangi keefektifan untuk merepresentasikan sebuah produk. Penelitian ini mengadopsi pendekatan kuantitatif dengan kriteria pengambilan sampel yang ditentukan secara sengaja, dengan total sampel sebanyak 191 peserta. Hasil pengujian menunjukkan bahwa penyebaran rumor tidak signifikan mempengaruhi kelelahan media sosial, sedangkan ketidakjelasan informasi mempengaruhi kelelahan media sosial. Selain itu, penelitian turut menunjukkan hubungan positif antara penyebaran rumor, ketidakjelasan informasi, dan perilaku penghentian penggunaan. Kelelahan media sosial tidak memediasi pengaruh penyebaran rumor terhadap perilaku berhenti menggunakan media sosial, sehingga ketidakjelasan informasi memediasi secara parsial. Penelitian ini menekankan relevansi teori agenda setting, yakni ketika influencer menghadapi rumor negatif dan ketidakjelasan informasi. Dapat disimpulkan, rumor negatif berkontribusi pada penurunan pengikut yang disebabkan oleh penyebaran rumor dan ketidakjelasan informasi di media sosial.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Penyebaran Rumor; Ketidakjelasan Informasi; Kelelahan Media Sosial; Perilaku Discontinuance*

INTRODUCTION

The rapid growth of social media in the present era has given rise to a multitude of new influencers on various platforms. These influencers, who come from diverse backgrounds, contribute to the vast array of content available on these platforms. Their presence makes it easier to gain recognition and become viral through social media. As individuals gain popularity on social media, their follower count tends to increase (Kay et al., 2020). Social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok are currently experiencing a high influx of users, resulting in increased engagement and prolonged usage. Influencers on platforms like Instagram and TikTok exert their influence through a variety of videos and photos. YouTube, as a video streaming channel, is used to influence other people. When a influencer in YouTube has many subscribers, they hold a significant role in shaping public opinion (Girsang, 2020; Ishihara & Oktavianti, 2021). The ability of influencers to shape public opinion through their communication holds a significant role in the process of framing (Balaban & Mustătea, 2019; Hudders et al., 2021). Influencers who achieve fame through viral social media content are often quickly utilized as brand ambassadors. The utilization of these influencers as key opinion leaders (KOL) serves the purpose of shaping public opinion and influencing consumer behavior, aligning with the agenda-setting theory (Kumar et al., 2013; Kumar & Mirchandani, 2012; Poddar & Agarwal, 2019). Influencers, who have a significant following and impact on their audience, can utilize message framing techniques to communicate and persuade their followers (Istania et al., 2019). They have the ability to strategically frame messages in a way that aligns with their personal brand and desired outcomes. Influencers often use their platforms to endorse products, promote certain causes, or shape public opinion by framing messages in a manner that resonates with their audience and elicits specific responses.

Framing can be considered as a manifestation of the agenda-setting theory. It represents the process by which influencers, through their effective communication, have the ability to shape and influence public opinion, thereby influencing the formation of specific perspectives or viewpoints (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016). Influencers on social media play a crucial role in shaping frames, particularly when it comes to promoting products. Social media serves as a powerful platform for communicating and amplifying the value of products, especially when utilized by influencers with a substantial following. Through social media, information about products can be disseminated to enhance trust and foster positive perceptions among consumers (Hearn & Schoenhoff, 2016).

Social media influencers are susceptible to the circulation of negative rumors, which can significantly damage their reputation and public image. It is vital for influencers to proactively address and skillfully manage these negative rumors to mitigate their adverse impact on both their personal brand and the products they endorse (Thwaites et al., 2012), such as family conflicts, marital problems, unlawful crimes, to allegations of dishonesty acts (Hock & Raithel, 2020; Um

& Lee, 2015; Zhou & Whitla, 2013). Some influencers intentionally create sensational acts to sustain their existence, resulting in viral attention. These acts are designed to generate substantial buzz and capture the attention of a wide audience (Sääksjärvi et al., 2016). The study highlights the prevalence of content creators prioritizing device literacy over digital ethics in their practices, indicating a higher level of proficiency and focus on technical aspects rather than ethical considerations.

The company aims to maintain a strong brand image in order to increase sales and gain public trust. However, when the company chooses influencers who have negative rumors surrounding them, the implications for the company's image remain uncertain (Djafarova & Trofimenko, 2019; McCormick, 2016). Doyle et al., (2014) found that when a familiar and well-known product is associated with influencers who face negative rumors, it does not have a significant impact on the corporate or brand image.

Conversely, when influencers face negative rumors regarding unfamiliar brands, it has a significant impact on the brand image. On the contrary, Osei-Frimpong et al., (2019) show that when influencers are associated with negative rumors, it does not significantly influence consumer behavior towards the product. Rumor dissemination through social media has become a widespread phenomenon, leading to an accelerated flow of information. Social media serves as a powerful tool for the rapid spread of information, including unverified rumors. The rumors dissemination plays a role in predisposing influencers to both positive and negative perceptions (Kim et al., 2015).

The dissemination of information through social media, particularly rumors and ambiguous information, creates a complex web of information, leading to its widespread propagation. Credible media sources are often trusted as reliable references when evaluating negative influencer information. On the other hand, an account with a large following but lacking credibility is more likely to generate panic and spread exaggerated false information (Zhao et al., 2012). The extensive dissemination of information, coupled with the spread of misinformation, leads to numerous discussions about negative influencers on social media. Prolonged and prolonged discussions surrounding specific influencers can result in social media fatigue. The development of social media fatigue is an ongoing process that often deviates from addressing the core issues arising from the rumor dissemination and ambiguous information (Lee et al., 2016).

When social media fatigue sets in, it has implications for the effectiveness of influencers as brand ambassadors representing the company. According to Bright et al., (2015), social media fatigue serves as a predictor for users to stop following influencers, thereby avoiding exposure to rumors or negative information. Previous research, Das et al., (2020), demonstrates that the intention to discontinue usage is directed at the social media platform itself, rather than specifically targeting the influencer as a brand ambassador.

Based on the existing research gap, it is evident that no study has specifically

examined the impact of social media fatigue on discontinuance behavior at the individual level. On the other hand, communication analysis used by influencers as an agenda-setting theory is important for companies. Discontinuance behavior refers to the act of ceasing to follow influencers. When this behavior occurs among social media users, it leads to ineffective communication (Lin et al., 2020). Considering the urgency and the gaps in previous research, there is a need for a comprehensive study that analyzes the behavior of social media users when exposed to rumors and ambiguous information associated with influencers. This study would investigate the overall impact of rumor dissemination and information equivocality on discontinuance behavior, specifically focusing on the role of social media fatigue.

Social media influencers attract a large number of followers, leading to increased scrutiny of their activities. When influencers engage in actions that are deemed unfavorable or embarrassing, these incidents tend to spread rapidly and become topics of negative conversations associated with the influencers (Chao et al., 2021). The extensive reach of social media grants individuals the freedom to utilize their respective accounts. However, unfocused discussions that revolve around rumors about specific influencers can prolong these discussions, resulting in social media fatigue. This fatigue brings negative consequences, such as frustration and a reluctance to engage with social media due to the overwhelming abundance of influencer-related information (Thwaites et al., 2012). The prolonged discussions on social media contribute to the amplification and wider rumor dissemination. As rumors spread, they play a significant role in shaping viral topics on social media. The continuous rumor dissemination leads to an abundance of unverified information, ultimately contributing to social media fatigue. Given these observations, the hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

H1: rumor dissemination influence user social media fatigue

Information pertaining to influencers plays a crucial role in shaping their credibility. When influencers are associated with positive information, they tend to receive favorable ratings from the public. Conversely, when influencers are linked to negative information, their ratings are negatively impacted. The information equivocality surrounding influencers creates ambiguity in people's judgments, leading to a vast amount of information available on the internet. (Lee et al., 2016). Social media platforms play a significant role in the dissemination of information equivocality, particularly when the information is incomplete or lacking clarity. This information asymmetry contributes to an increase in information equivocality, leading to social media fatigue (Aben et al., 2021). Discussions regarding these influencers continue unabated, resulting in an increase in the circulation of information on social media. The growing availability of information on social media has the potential to cause social media fatigue, which carries negative implications. Users who are exposed to excessive information are prone to experiencing social media fatigue in relation to the influencers'

information (Flores-García et al., 2020). Based on these observations, the hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

H2: information equivocality rumor dissemination influence user social media fatigue

Rumor dissemination involves the spread of information on social media pertaining to certain influencers, resulting in an increase in uncontrolled and potentially inaccurate information. Social media platforms serve as powerful tools for rapidly spreading rumors, thereby exerting a significant influence on public perception, including perceptions of specific influencers (Ilicic et al., 2018). Furthermore, positive rumors can also contribute to the admiration and appreciation of certain influencers, garnering praise from social media users. Conversely, negative rumors can serve as a means of retribution, leading followers to unfollow an influencer on social media. Influencers who are perceived to disregard values and norms may face consequences from their followers, such as losing followers or being unfollowed on social media platforms (Um, 2016). For followers, when an influencer is perceived to have made a mistake, there is often a tendency to unfollow the influencer to avoid receiving further information from them. Followers of specific influencers typically anticipate receiving valuable and beneficial information, but when negative information becomes associated with these influencers, it tends to overshadow their overall behavior (Wang & Kim, 2020). For an influencer, having a growing number of followers is a source of pride and validation. However, if the influencer experiences a decline in their follower count, it can be seen as a form of punishment for their actions or behaviors that are not deserving of praise. Building upon these observations, the hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

H3: rumor dissemination influence user discontinuance behavior

Information plays a crucial role in shaping follower judgments about influencers on social media. Influencers who engage in controversial or sensational actions often attract attention from various parties. However, it is important to note that the impact of such actions can be both positive and negative, depending on the perception and values of the followers (Phillips et al., 2021). Social media platforms that are inundated with unclear and asymmetric information can have significant implications for the behavior of unfollowing influencers. Followers who are bombarded with excessive amounts of information may experience information overload, leading to fatigue in processing the information and eventually deciding to unfollow influencers (Aben et al., 2021). Information equivocality can indeed lead to confusion among followers, prompting them to avoid excessive information and ultimately stop following the influencer (Flores-García et al., 2020). The abundance of inaccurate information disseminated through various media and social media platforms can contribute to this phenomenon. Based on these observations, the hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

H4: Information equivocality influence user discontinuance behavior

Social media fatigue is the result of being exposed to an overwhelming amount of widely available information, leading social media users to become overwhelmed. The information found on social media is often spread extensively, turning it into a platform for sharing information that may not necessarily be accurate or reliable. The dissemination of inaccurate information results in a multitude of clarifications, biased content, and ultimately an excessive influx of information (Xiao & Mou, 2019). The topics discussed on social media often revolve around influencers, whose news spreads widely on these platforms, but they tend to become monotonous. The excessive dissemination of information on social media contributes to social media fatigue, which is characterized by users feeling bored with the constant influx of viral content (Dhir et al., 2019). When social media repeatedly focuses on specific topics over an extended period, social media fatigue plays a significant role in influencing users to unfollow viral influencers (Zhang et al., 2022). Based on these observations, the proposed hypothesis:

H5: Social media fatigue influence user discontinuance behavior

Influencers are influential people on social media, so any information related to these influencers will be easily spread. Influencers play an important role in maintaining a good reputation. However, on the other hand, influencers sometimes receive news that carries negative implications for their personal image (Hock & Raithel, 2020). The constant discussion of negative rumors about influencers on social media plays a significant role in causing social media fatigue. Influencers who are well-known to the public often face negative news, which leads to the widespread dissemination of information that is both extensive and biased (Djafarova & Rushworth, 2017). In the current era, the rapid spread of information, particularly negative information, is significantly increasing through social media. News that quickly circulate plays a crucial role in contributing to user fatigue on social media (Sääksjärvi et al., 2016). When users receive negative news about influencers, they often tend to focus on the negative aspects and distance themselves from these influencers. The stigma attached to influencers who receive negative news leads social media users to avoid them. Additionally, when social media users actively participate in spreading and sharing potentially false news, it further complicates the situation, creating a need for clarification of the news (Um, 2016). Information ambiguity contributes to information asymmetry, resulting in uncertainty and confusion regarding influencers. When an influencer receives negative news, the rapid spread of information amplifies the equivocality, making users more inclined to discontinue following that influencer (Kang et al., 2020). The desire to disengage is caused by social media fatigue, which has implications for social media users who are reluctant to engage with current viral news. Therefore, the hypotheses based on the explanation are:

H6: rumor dissemination influence user discontinuance behavior through social media fatigue

H7: information equivocality influence user discontinuance behavior through social media fatigue

METHODS

The research employs a quantitative approach to examine the relations between variables. The selection of a quantitative approach enables the analysis of extensive data sets, ensuring that the research outcomes accurately reflect the targeted population (Hair et al., 2014). This study incorporates four variables: rumor dissemination, information equivocality, social media fatigue, and discontinuance behavior. To measure rumor dissemination, a scale is employed, including items such as "social media facilitates the rapid spread of rumors," which has been adopted from previous research (Um, 2016; Xie & Tsai, 2021). Information equivocality is assessed through statements such as "information shared on social media may not always be accurate," which have been adopted from previous research (Arriagada & Bishop, 2021; Lee et al., 2016). Social media fatigue is gauged using measurements such as "occasionally, viral news on social media leads to feelings of frustration," which have been adopted from previous studies (Dhir et al., 2019; Xiao & Mou, 2019; Zhang et al., 2022). Discontinuance behavior is assessed through measurements such as "I have no interest in encountering viral news on social media," which have been adopted from previous research (Kang et al., 2020; Shokouyar et al., 2018)

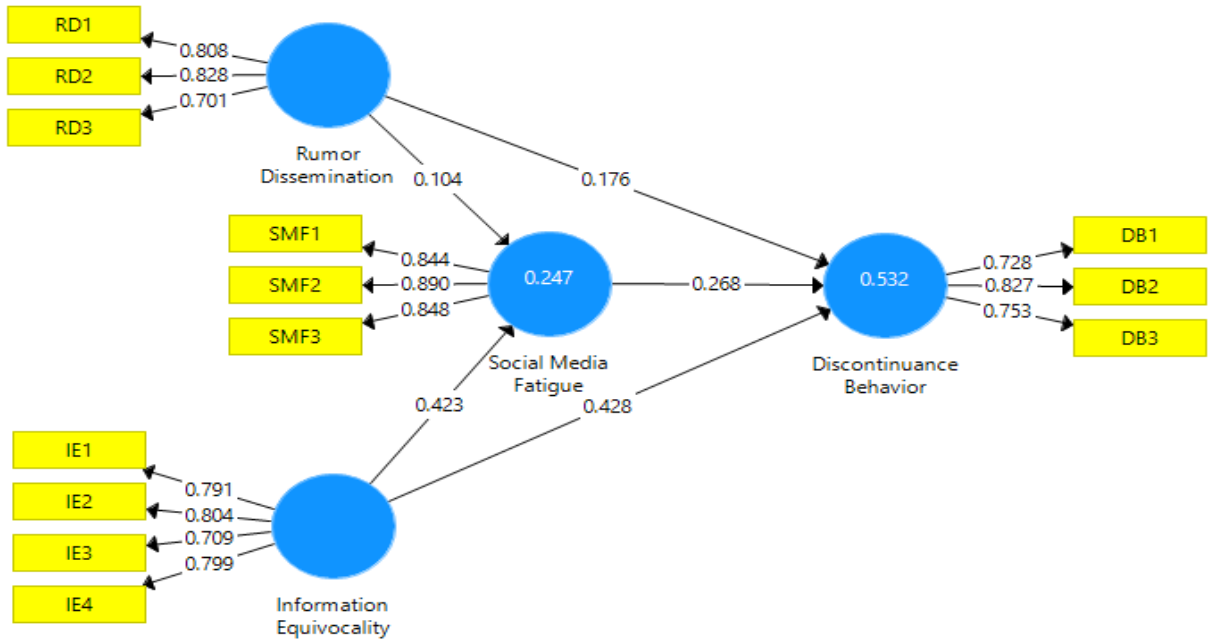
This study focuses on a population of social media users aged between 17 and 30 years, who follow well-known influencers on social media. The research does not involve any specific influencer; therefore, it is anonymous. The influencers being followed have been involved in negative viral conversations on social media. In Indonesia, some of the viral negative rumors surrounding influencers include allegations of criminal activities, involvement in pornography, gambling, or family issues. The study utilized a sample size of 191 respondents. Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) is a statistical analysis technique used to examine relationships between observed and latent (unobserved) variables.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research examines the data by using the inner model and outer model. The inner model refers to the relationships among latent variables within a specific theoretical framework, while the outer model relates to the indicators or observed variables used to measure the latent variables. The results first test the validity and reliability of the outer model and proceed with testing the hypothesis on the inner model.

The results of the validity test are shown in Figure 1, where each indicator is presented with a loading factor value ≥ 0.7, according to the rule of thumb. It can be observed that all indicators meet the criteria, as they have loading factors that fulfill the validity test.

Figure 1. Loading Factor Test Results



Source: Author's Statistical Findings

Table 1 provides a detailed description of the loading factors for each variable that meet the criteria. It presents the loading factor values for all variables, indicating their level of association with the construct being measured.

Table 1. Loading Factor Each variable

Variable	Indicators	Discontinuance Behavior	Information Equivocality	Rumor Dissemination	Social Media Fatigue
Discontinuance behavior	DB1	0.728			
	DB2	0.827			
	DB3	0.753			
Information equivocality	IE1		0.791		
	IE2		0.804		
	IE3		0.709		
	IE4		0.799		
Rumor dissemination	RD1			0.808	
	RD2			0.828	
	RD3			0.701	
Social media fatigue	SMF1				0.844
	SMF2				0.890
	SMF3				0.848

Source: Author›s Statistical Findings

Table 2 displays the results of the reliability test, demonstrating the consistency of variable results across different data sets. The table indicates that all variables have successfully met the reliability criteria as assessed through Cronbach Alpha and composite reliability.

Table 2. Reliability Test and AVE

Variable	Cronbach›s Alpha	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Discontinuance Behavior	0.716	0814	0.614
Information Equivocality	0.783	0.859	0.603
Rumor Dissemination	0.734	0.823	0.610
Social Media Fatigue	0.827	0896	0.742

Source: Author›s Statistical Findings

Table 3 presents the results of the discriminant validity analysis, which assesses the validity of each variable. The results of the validity test indicate higher variable values compared to the other variables, indicating strong discriminant validity.

Table 3. Discriminant validity test results

Variable	Discontinuance Behavior	Information Equivocality	Rumor Dissemination	Social Media Fatigue
Discontinuance Behavior	0.770			
Information Equivocality	0.674	0.777		
Rumor Dissemination	0.557	0.653	0.781	
Social Media Fatigue	0.544	0.491	0.380	0.861

Source: Author›s Statistical Findings

Table 4 exhibits the results of the direct influence test between variables, employing the rule of thumb of ±1.96 and a significance level of ≤0.05. The hypothesis regarding the influence of rumor dissemination on social media fatigue is not supported (sig 0.289 ≥ 0.05). However, the remaining hypotheses regarding direct effects are supported.

Table 4. Direct Effect Test Results

Hypothesis	Original Sample (O)	Sample Means (M)	Standard Deviation (STDEV)	T Statistics (|O/STDEV|)	P Values
Information Equivocality → Discontinuance Behavior	0.428	0.413	0.094	4.537	0.000
Information Equivocality → Social Media Fatigue	0.423	0.424	0.101	4.188	0.000
Rumor Dissemination → Discontinuance Behavior	0.176	0.184	0.078	2.257	0.024

Rumor Dissemination → Social Media Fatigue	0.104	0.112	0.098	1.062	0.289
Social Media Fatigue → Discontinuance Behavior	0.268	0.276	0.083	3.235	0.001

Source: Author›s Statistical Findings

Table 5 illustrates the examination of indirect effects between variables mediated by social media fatigue. Specifically, it assesses the impact of information equivocality and rumor dissemination on discontinuance behavior through the mediation of social media fatigue. The hypothesis regarding rumor dissemination›s influence on discontinuance behavior through social media fatigue is not supported (sig 0.341 ≥ 0.050). However, the hypothesis concerning information equivocality›s impact on discontinuance behavior through social media fatigue is supported (sig 0.020 ≤ 0.050).

Table 5. Indirect Influence Test Results

Hypothesis	Original Sample (O)	Sample Means (M)	Standard Deviation (STDEV)	T Statistics (|O/STDEV|)	P Values
Information Equivocality → Discontinuance Behavior	0.113	0.118	0.048	2.337	0.020
Rumor Dissemination → Discontinuance Behavior	0.028	0.030	0.029	0.953	0.341

Source: Author›s Statistical Findings

Based on the test results, this study concludes that there is no significant effect of rumors on social media fatigue. Ouvrein et al., (2017) state that rumors play a significant role in determining social media fatigue because social media users are inundated with excessive information about the influencers they follow. Previous research, Zhou & Whitla (2013), has elaborated on the concept of social media fatigue as an indication of an overload of information in users' social media experiences. These studies suggest that the excessive focus on specific influencers and the persistence of rumors contribute to social media fatigue. However, the results of the current study contradict these previous findings, demonstrating that rumors do not have a significant influence on social media fatigue. This suggests that social media users perceive rumors as a normal part of their online experience and do not consider them excessive or disruptive information. Moreover, the research suggests that social media users often choose to disregard rumors with negative connotations related to specific influencers. Consequently, social media users may feel indifferent and unaffected by the topics associated with these influencers, leading to a lack of fatigue. Influencers, as brand ambassadors, who encounter negative rumors, tend to strategically frame overlooked aspects and emphasize authenticity to generate positive effects (Ilicic et al., 2018)

The results of the study revealed a significant positive relationship between information equivocality and social media fatigue. These findings highlight the crucial role of information equivocality in shaping the discomfort experienced by social media users. When the credibility of information disseminated across different media platforms is uncertain, the continuous engagement with discussions and news related to specific influencers on social media leads to feelings of boredom and fatigue (Lee et al., 2016). Influencers who have negative information and are extensively discussed on social media among users can contribute to social media fatigue, resulting in negative implications (Aben et al., 2021). The study results provide evidence that unverifiable information has implications for social media fatigue. These findings support previous research that has also suggested a link between information equivocality and the experience of social media fatigue.

The study results demonstrate that rumor dissemination directly influences the intention of social media users to unfollow specific influencers. This research further supports the notion that users tend to disengage from discussions surrounding influencers who are associated with negative information or rumors. The findings suggest that users are more inclined to take prompt action by choosing to stop following such influencers. Social media platforms serve as spaces for diverse discussions, including the exploration of influencers' negative aspects, which are extensively elaborated upon by various media outlets and other users on social media (Hock & Raithel, 2020). When social media users choose to stop following certain influencers, it can have negative implications for the influencers' popularity. The results of this study indicate that information equivocality directly influences discontinuance behavior. This research highlights that when social media users encounter unclear or ambiguous information, they are more likely to swiftly develop a discontinuance behavior towards the influencers. This research confirms that when influencers are associated with news that requires verification, they are more likely to attract a significant number of detractors. Consequently, the volume of news and discussions related to these influencers diminishes. The decrease in followers can be attributed to information equivocality surrounding the circulating rumors on social media (Tan, 2021)

Social media fatigue has been found to have a positive and significant impact on the desire of social media users to unfollow influencers. This research suggests that when users feel tired and fatigued due to the constant circulation of information and rumors associated with influencers, it leads to discontinuance behavior (Jin & Muqaddam, 2019).

Regarding indirect influence, the effect of rumor dissemination on discontinuance behavior through social media fatigue has not been proven. However, research does demonstrate a direct influence on discontinuance behavior. This study suggests that social media fatigue does not serve as a mediating factor in the relationship between rumor dissemination and discontinuance behavior. Social media users tend to disregard or ignore news and information that lacks clarity,

resulting in the unfollowing of influencers associated with such rumors (Istania et al., 2019). When social media users choose to unfollow certain influencers, the visibility of rumors on social media diminishes. The study's results also provide evidence that information equivocality influences discontinuance behavior through the mediation of social media fatigue.

CONCLUSION

This study investigates the impact of rumor dissemination and information equivocality on discontinuance behavior through the lens of social media fatigue. It specifically examines the negative portrayal of influencers resulting from rumor dissemination and increasing information equivocality on social media. The findings reveal that while rumor dissemination has no significant effect on social media fatigue, information equivocality does influence it. Moreover, both rumor dissemination and information equivocality directly impact discontinuance behavior. Notably, social media fatigue does not mediate the relationship between rumor dissemination and discontinuance behavior, but it does partially mediate the effect of information equivocality. The research uncovers that social media users tend to disengage from influencers due to their reluctance to interact with unclear information. These insights hold significance for companies employing brand ambassadors, especially those associated with controversial influencers, and can inform marketing strategies accordingly.

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Talagha: Komunikasi Pemasaran untuk Branding Pariwisata Pesisir Terpadu

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Abstrak

Madura memiliki potensi pantai sebagai daerah destinasi wisata pesisir. Akan tetapi dalam konteks komunikasi pemasaran, potensi tersebut belum dioptimalkan. Riset ini bertujuan untuk menggali segenap potensi wisata pesisir tersebut dengan penggunaan identitas branding Talagha sebagai alternatif komunikasi pemasaran kawasan wisata pesisir terpadu. Lokasi riset pada empat destinasi wisata pesisir di Pamekasan, Madura yaitu Pantai Talang Siring, Pantai Jumiang, Pantai Legend, dan Mangruve Lembung. Populasi dari riset ini adalah pengunjung dan warga sekitar destinasi. Dengan menggunakan accidental sampling didapatkan dua ratus sampel sesuai dengan karaketristik populasi sasaran. Pengumpulan data dengan survei kemudian dianalisis menggunakan SPSS 23. Analisis menunjukkan bahwa tagline Talagha sebagai identitas brand disetujui oleh sebagian besar responden menjadi bagian dari branding wisata terintegrasi. Hasil temuan akan dikomfirmasi dengan teori strategi branding yang menjadi bagian dari komunikasi pemasaran destinasi wisata. Identitas brand Talagha selain sebagai akronim dari Talang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung juga merupakan padanan dari danau dalam bahasa Indonesia. Terminologi dalam bahasa Madura ini diharapkan dapat menjadi katalisator dalam penggunaan identitas brand dalam pengembangan komunikasi \pemasaran destinasi wisata. Triple helix dapat menggunakan temuan ini sebagai bagian dari pengembangan kebijakan terkait branding wisata pesisir terintegrasi di Madura. Riset ini juga dapat menjadi literatur pada pengembangan destinasi sejenis dari regional lainnya.

Kata kunci: *Identitas branding; Komunikasi pemasaran; Destinasi wisata*

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Talagha: Marketing Communications for Integrated Coastal *Tourism Branding*

Abtract

Madura has beach comparative potential as a coastal tourist destination. However, in the marketing communications context, this potential has not been optimized. Therefore, this research aims to explore all the potential for integrated coastal tourism by using the Talagha acronym of Talang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, and Lembung branding identity as an alternative to marketing communication. The Talagha brand identity not only being as destinations acronym but also the equivalent of lake in Madurese. Research locations were conducted on

four Pamekasan coastal tourism destinations in Madura, namely Talang Siring Beach, Jumiang Beach, Legend Beach, and Mangruve Lembung. Research population are visitors and residents around the destinations. Samples were obtained using accidental sampling. Based on target population characteristics, as two hundres samples were acquired. Data collection were conducted by survey and analyzed by using SPSS. The results show that Talagha tagline as a brand identity is agreed by majority respondents to be part of integrated tourism branding. The findings confirmed by branding strategies theory as a part of tourist destination marketing communications. This findings are expected to be a catalyst in brand identity usage in tourist destination marketing communications development. It is recommended these findings as literature in brand destination studies as well as reaches triple helix in developing policies brief related to Madura's integrated coastal tourism branding.

Keywords: *Branding identity; Marketing communications; Tourist destinations*

PENDAHULUAN

Sumber daya alam menjadi katalisator pada sektor pariwisata Madura. Madura memiliki berbagai wisata alam (*nature*) maupun buatan (*man made*) yang beragam. Penyeberangan Kamal-Perak dan sebaliknya menjadi salah satu destinasi heritage untuk mengembalikan memori pada rutinitas di dua pelabuhan (Akbarwati & Ariastita, 2013). Beragam destinasi lain seperti wisata bahari di Kepualaun Gili Labak (Kurniawan et al., 2017), pantai Slopeng Sumenep (Faqih, 2016), Sampang memiliki *eco-tourism* (Yasir, 2023). Selain itu Madura juga dikenal untuk wisata religious (Farida et al., 2020), dan wisata kesehatan melalui agrowisata jamu (Pramasari & Wijaya, 2021).

Pengembangan pariwisata Madura membutuhkan penguatan pada identitas dari destinasi (Hanifah et al., 2021), (Imani et al., 2020). Merek (*brand*) sebagai identitas yang dilekatkan pada suatu destinasi menjadi keharusan (Ianenko et al., 2020). Dengan memberikan merek pada setiap destinasi akan dapat terpetakan potensi lebih lanjut dari berbagai destinasi tersebut (Yuli, 2011). Pembangunan identitas melalui merek (*brand*) membutuhkan setidaknya tiga komponen yaitu: nama, *tagline*, dan tampilan visual (Budelmann et al., 2010). Setiap komponen memberikan kontribusi pada pengenalan dan pengembangan destinasi pada benak khalayak pengunjung bahkan calon wisatawan (Murphy et al., 2007). Pemberian merek identitas (*brand identity*) sudah dilakukan oleh berbagai destinasi wisata di Indonesia (Zidni, 2017); (Ardhanariswari & Probosari, 2020); (Nugroho & Suhardja, 2016); (Widjajani et al., 2018). Dalam konteks wisata kesehatan (*health tourism*) dilekatkan pada Turki (Ceti & Unluonen, 2020), Iran (Amininia et al., 2020) atau Italia (Manna et al., 2020). Sedangkan identitas destinasi keolahragaan (*sport tourism*) akan mengingatkan pada Tour de France (Paramio-Salcines et al., 2017); (Zeytonli et al., 2015); Cina (Yan & He, 2020); dan Afrika Selatan (Hemmonsbey & Tichaawa, 2020).

Berbagai objek wisata di Madura membutuhkan pelekatan identitas untuk mengusung keunggulan komparatif sekaligus menjadikan destinasi tersebut lebih kompetitif (Gaffar, 2008). Keunggulan destinasi wisata dapat ditunjukkan dengan pemberian nama, logo, dan *tagline* seperti pada konteks merek wisata halal (Subarkah et al., 2020); (Al-Mansyur et al., 2019). Secara umum, setiap kabupaten di Madura

telah mengembangkan merek kota (*city brand*). Sedangkan untuk destinasi wisata belum diberikan merek yang secara khusus diolah untuk menjadi identitas dari destinasi tersebut. Beberapa destinasi wisata di Madura tengah mengembangkan kelembagaan untuk optimalisasi kontribusi destinasi. Melalui BumDes, perkumpulan pemuda, serta dengan sosialisasi kelompok sadar wisata (Semnas & Madura, 2019).

Implementasi pengembangan destinasi berkelanjutan pada wisata di Madura pada tahap awal dapat dilakukan dengan pemberian identitas merek. Pembangunan identitas merek membutuhkan literatur yang memadai seputar sejarah, identitas yang akan dibangun, target, termasuk secara teknis pemilihan tampilan visual yang sesuai (Pratiwi et al., 2018). Dalam riset-riset tentang identitas merek (*brand identity*) terutama pada destinasi wisata, ditemukan bahwa pemberian logo dan *tagline* memberi pengaruh pada preferensi pengunjung (Zidni, 2017); (Murphy et al., 2007). Selain itu pemberian identitas merek turut memberi terpaan pada loyalitas wisatawan untuk berkunjung kembali (Pike et al., 2010).

Penelitian terdahulu menunjukkan pembangunan destinasi wisata di Madura dilekatkan pada beberapa ikon seperti wisata syariah (Rachmad, 2017) (Syamsi & Adiyono, 2020), wisata maritim (Arisandi & Tamam, 2018), dan wisata edukasi (Yasir, 2023). Tetapi pengembangan tersebut masih sebagai destinasi tunggal belum sebagai destinasi terintegrasi. Dalam konteks komunikasi pemasaran, pemberian nama pada sebuah produk menjadi salah satu strategi dalam memperkenalkan atau pengembangan dari identitas yang sudah ada (Kushwah et al., 2020). Persaingan dalam sektor pariwisata semakin kompetitif, setiap destinasi berusaha untuk meningkatkan kunjungan wisatawan dalan negeri maupun manca negara. Usaha untuk menarik wisatawan dan memberi ruang pada daerah untuk mengembangkan potensi lokal adalah dengan memberikan penawaran terbaik. Hal ini dapat dilakukan dengan memperjelas tujuan, dan segmentasi pasar melalui pembangunan *brand identity* (Tsaur et al., 2016)*;* (Lin et al., 2011).

Pengembangan wisata Madura yang dilakukan dengan membuat kluster-kluster destinasi perlu melibatkan pembangunan identitas merek. Proses tersebut membutuhkan tahapan dalam identifikasi sejarah, harapan, dan karakter dari destinasi. Berdasarkan latar belakang tersebut maka dapat diidentifikasi bahwa kluster destinasi sebagai model wisata terintegrasi diperlukan dalam pengembangan wisata pesisir. Pengembangan identitas merek ini diharapkan dapat menjadi langkah awal dalam memberi semangat dan motivasi dalam pengembangan wisata pesisir Madura secara berkelanjutan.

Berdasarkan potensi dan hasil riset terdahulu tentang wisata Madura, riset ini akan mengembangan model *brand identity* dari wilayah pesisir Selatan Pamekasan yang meliputi daerah Talang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung. Destinasi yang berada secara berdekatan tersebut memiliki potensi wisata bahari identik tetapi dengan karakter yang beragam. Potensi tersebut dapat menjadi inisiasi pada pengembangan model destinasi wisata terintegrasi melaui kluster-kluster wisata. Pembangunan identitas merek

sekaligus dapat menjadi terpaan dalam ragam promosi wisata melalui kegiatan, identitas media, publikasi, dan kegiatan lain yang melibatkan *quadruple helix*.

Destinasi wisata dapat menjadi kontributor pada angka pendapatan dan citra daerah. Dalam beberapa dimensi industri pariwisata bahkan menjadi penyumbang pada angka yang cukup tinggi pada pendapatan daerah. Dalam konteks ini, destinasi wisata menjadi prioritas dalam rencana pembangunan daerah salah satunya dengan inisiasi kawasan wisata terintegrasi. Pembangunan citra destinasi wisata dimulai dari pengenalan pada identitas merek (*brand identity*). Hal ini karena citra destinasi tidak terbentuk dalam proses yang singkat melainkan melalui serangkaian tahapan. Identitas destinasi yang unik dan kompetitif dapat mempengaruhi perilaku konsumen atau wisatawan.

Wilayah pesisir selatan Madura memiliki potensi sebagai destinasi wisata bahari. Sumber daya alam seperti pantai, air terjun, dan hutan mangrove menjadi kekuatan komparatif. Mengenalkan ragam potensi tersebut membutuhkan pendekatan citra destinasi. Hal ini menjadi penting karena destinasi akan lebih mudah dikenali dan diingat ketika memiliki identitas yang berbeda dengan kompetitor. Salah satu kawasa terintegrasi yang menjadi lokasi riset ini adalah pantai Selatan pesisir Pamekasan yang meliputi Talang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung. Riset ini bertujuan untuk merancang identitas merek pada empat lokasi tersebut menjadi kawasan wisata terintegrasi. Peran citra destinasi pariwisata dalam pengembangan merek dapat menjadi referensi pada atraksi dan bentuk pariwisata dan sejarah Pamekasan.

Pengembangan identitas merek (*brand identity*) kawasan terintegrasi pada destinasi terintegrasi akan divisualisasikan dalam bagian merek yang terlihat yang menjadi indikasi pada perbedaan mereke pada persepsi wisatawan seperti logo, desain, dan warnas. Riset terdahulu telah menemukan beragam potensi wisata di Madura baik dalam wisata alam, wisata desa, wisata *ecotourism*, atau wisata atraksi. Riset ini menjadi pengembangan dari temuan terdahulu dengan merancang identitas merek untuk kawasan terintegrasi *Talaghâ* (Talang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung).

Identitas merek yang dikembangkan nantinya akan berdasarkan persepsi dari responden yaitu pengunjung dan masyarakat sekitar wisata di kawasan terintegrasi tersebut. Paradigma positivistik digunakan dalam penelitian ini sedangkan metode menggunakan deskriptif kuantitatif. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan survei, observasi dan dokumentasi. Analisis data taksonomik digunakan untuk mendapatkan cluster pada temuan-temuan penelitian. Dari temuan tersebut akan ditarik logika inferensial dalam simpulan sementara penelitian.

KAJIAN PUSTAKA

Identitas Merek (Brand identity)

Identitas merek merupakan bagian dari karakter ide pembeda yang dapat diketahui dengan melihat, mendengar, atau menyentuhnya. Bagian-bagian tersebut kemudian disatukan menjadi bagian dari keseluruhan sistem merek (Wheeler, 2010). Merek dibangun dengan komitmen dan konsistensi untuk dapat dikenal dan membangun kepercayaan pelanggan. Proses ini dilakukan dengan

serangkaian tahapan sebagai modal pada pembangunan merek dan memperkuat pada pengembangannya di masa depan. *Branding* adalah merupana serangkaian proses komunikasi pemasaran dengan mengidentifikasi kekuatan, kelemahan, kesempatan, dan tantangan dari produk, pelayanan, atau individu yang akan diberikan merek. Korporasi atau kegiatan yang melibatkan distribusi pesan informasi yang intensif dapat dikelola dengan *branding* untuk mempersiapkan strategi dengan melibatkan kepemimpinan (*leadership*), melampaui persaingan, dan memberi peluang manajeman san sumber daya perusahaan dalam berkreasi dan melakukan inovasi (Wheeler, 2010).

Pembangunan merek melibatkan tiga tahapan yaitu: riset, perumusan strategi merek, serta pembentukan desain identitas. Dalam tahapan tersebut identitas yang dibentuk pada individu, produk, maupun tempat membutuhkan kesiapan dari beberapa perspektif selain intensi pada tujuan juga diperlukan identifikasi pada target, segmen, dan nilai-nilai positif yang mendekati merek yang akan dilekati. Proses tersebut dilakukan secara bertahap dengan setiap tahapan membutuhkan kecermatan dan kreativitas.

Gambar 1. Tahapan pembentukan identitas merek (*brand identity*)

Sumber: (Brooking, 2016)

Peluang dalam membangun merek menjadi bagian dari mekanisme pasar untuk melakukan segmentasi. Hal ini karena, pasar dalam konteks ini adalah wisatawan memiliki harapan pada merek. Termasuk dalam hal ini adalah pihak internal merek yang juga menjadi bagian dari reputasi dan nilai dari korporasi. Wawasan tentang kebutuhan, perilaku, dan persepsi pemangku kepentingan kemudian menjadi hal yang dapat dilakukan untuk kesuksesan pembangunan loyalitas pada merek. (Brooking, 2016). Strategi yang berhasil diindikasikan dengan persepsi positif dari konsumen pada merek bahwa tidak ada produk atau layanan lain di pasar yang persis sama. Merek pada akhirnya adalah janji yang dibuat kepada pelanggan untuk disampaikan secara konsisten, maka merek adalah tindakan menciptakan serangkaian atribut fisik – nama merek, identitas merek, tali pengikat, dan sebagainya – bersama dengan aset yang kurang berwujud, seperti emosi. manfaat yang ditawarkan oleh merek (Kashif et al., 2015). Apa pun pendekatan yang dipilih, kekuatan identitas merek pada akhirnya terletak pada seberapa berhasilnya mewujudkan makna merek yang diinginkan, dan kecepatan pengenalan oleh audiens target. Dengan sendirinya, logo hanyalah sebuah tanda. Untuk menjadi lebih dari perangkat grafis itu harus memperoleh makna di benak konsumen.

Menggunakan perangkat sejarah atau budaya dapat meningkatkan makna, tetapi logo juga harus mencerminkan waktu di mana ia hidup, tetap segar dan mutakhir. Logo yang sempurna harus khas, sederhana, fleksibel, elegan, praktis, dan tak terlupakan. Itu harus berbeda dari pesaingnya, menghindari klise dan tidak pernah melanggar merek dagang merek lain (Budelmann et al., 2010). Logo kuat yang menggunakan desain khas

juga dapat melintasi batas nasional dan budaya, karena gambar – tidak seperti teks – adalah bahasa universal. Identitas merek yang sukses terdiri dari serangkaian elemen yang saling terkait yang semuanya bertujuan untuk mengomunikasikan nilai-nilai merek. Di samping ikon atau logo merek, yang paling berkesan mungkin adalah strapline – juga dikenal sebagai *tagline* atau slogan (Brooking, 2016).

Ada beberapa kategori yang bisa digunakan untuk mendefinisikan pendekatan komunikasi yang berbeda dalam deskripsi pembangunan merek. Ini membantu untuk menggambarkan produk layanan atau janji, seperti iklan 'Tidak ada apa-apa selain buah' dari Innocent yang bersifat superlatif. Ini mendefinisikan posisi pasar sebagai yang teratas dalam kategorinya, misalnya 'The ultimate driving machine' BMW yang memiliki sintaktik imperatif. Sedangkan majas provokatif biasanya berupa perintah atau arahan untuk bertindak, seperti pada iklam 'Lakukan saja' dari Nike. Konsep merek dengan menggunakan pertanyaan yang menggugah pikiran, atau ironi, misalnya, 'Think Small' dari lini produk VW. Merek juga sering dibangun dengan identitas spesifik seperti . dengan mendefinisikan atau mengekspresikan bisnis atau produk merek, sebagai contoh "berani kotor itu baik" dari Rinso.

Kawasan Wisata Terintegrasi

Inovasi dalam industri wisata dilakukan secara berkelanjutan. Model klasik dengan pelibatan tiga pemangku utama (triple helix) sampai dengan pengembangan inovasi model kontemporer dengan menyertakan lebih banyak pemangku kepentingan seperti quadruple helix, quintuple, dan n-tuple helix (Hidayat & Rukmana, 2021). Sektor pariwisata membutuhkan inonasi dan kreativitas dalam pengembangan dalam konteks destinasi maupun kelembagaan. Model inovasi yang sedang marak dikembangkan adalah dengan membuat kawasan wisata terintegrasi. Dalam satu regional atau kawasan dijadikan sebuah rangkaain destinasi dengan melibatkan prinsip-prinsip pengelolaan yang baik.

Pengelolaan pariwisata berkelanjutan dengan memperhatikan prinsip-prinsip yang tidak dapat dilepaskan pada nilai-nilai lokalitas (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). Destinasi wisata terintegrasi membutuhkan basis pada kearifan lokal serta *special local sense* dengan refleksi pada faktor lokalitas budaya dan ide-ide. Pelestarian merupakan bagian dari perlindungan dan peningkatan kualitas sumber daya juga menjadi keunggulan komparatif pada pengembangan pariwisata (Ratten et al., 2019). Kawasan wisata terintegrasi juga dapat dilakukan dengan menambahkan atraksi wisata tambahan yang sesuai dengan akar khasanah lokalitas. Usaha wisata merupakan usaha dengan basis pelayanan (*service*) dengan ditunjang dengan keunikan dan lokalitas. Dukungan regulator dan kebijakan pada pembangunan dan pengembangan dapat menjadi bagian dari peningkatan pendapatan masyarakat (Khan, 2014).

METODE PENELITIAN

Pendekatan postivistik digunakan karena dianggap tepat untuk membantu memetakan dan mendeskripsikan kembali terkait objek riset. Menurut (Nathan, 2014),

penelitian positivistik dalam menkaji realitas bertujuan untuk mendapatkan pengukuran pada suatu realitas objektif tertentu. Asumsi dari penelitian kuantitatif antara lain: (1) realitas bersifat objektif, (2) penelitian kuantitatif adalah penelitian yang menggunakan data utama berupa angka, (3) realitas dapat diprediksi.

Pemetaan persepsi dari pengunjung dan warga sekitar destinasi tentang merek *Talagha* dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kuantitatif dengan tujuan untuk mendapatkan Dalam riset ini desain penelitian dilakukan dengan menggunakan indikator atau protokol dengan melakukan identifikasi pada *conceptual framing* pada identifikasi brand identity pada wisata pesisir Selatan di Pamekasan. Penelitian ini menggunakan *accidental sampling* dalam memilih responden. Populasi dalam riset ini yang memiliki karakter sebagai pengunjung atau warga sekitar. Sedangkan populasi sasaran dalam penelitian ini adalah: (1) pengunjung dan warga sekitar empat destinasi wisata pesisir, (2) berusia minimal 17 tahun, (3) bersedia memberikan jawaban dari instrumen kuesioner. Informasi yang didapatkan diharapkan dari segenap responden adalah identifikasi tentang persepsi potensi pengembangan *brand identity* kawasan terintegrasi di pesisir selatan di Pamekasan.Dari temuan hasil identifikasi ini akan digunakan untuk melakukan pengayaan pada model pengembangan *brand identity* pada kawasan wisata terintegrasi. Riset ini juga akan mendapatkan pandangan dan wawasan dari penggiat wisata terutama generasi muda untuk menggali informasi dari harapan terhadap *brand identity* destinasi pada kawasan wisata terintegrasi. Analisis data dilakukan dengan tabulasi silang (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Pengumpulan data menggunakan survei dengan menggunakan kuesioner dengan indikator pada penggalian pada aspek pengetahuan, sikap dan perilaku, persepsi daya dukung lingkungan sosial, persepsi terhadap pengintegrasian obyek wisata.

Analisis data dilakukan dengan tabel frekuensi pada jawaban dari responden. Hasil tabel frekuensi tersebut kemudian diolah dengan tabulasi silang. Pada ítem pertanyaan yang memiliki kekhasan dalam hasil tabulasi silang dijadikan temuan yang dideskrispsikan. Temuan-temuan tersebut kemudian secara taksonomik dimasukkan dalam kategori pembahasan tertentu sesuai dengan interpretasi dan dukungan literatur teori, konsep serta penelitian terdahulu. .

Tabel 1 Teknik Pengumpulan Data dan Indikator Capaian

Teknik	Sasaran	Capaian
Survei dengan wawancara	Pengunjung destinasi	Mendapatkan informasi tentang motivasi dan aktivitas selama berkunjung ke destinasi, beserta persepsi pada tema wisata terintegrasi di pesisir Pamekasan.

	Warga sekitar destinasi	Mendapatkan informasi tentang motivasi dan aktivitas selama berkunjung ke destinasi, beserta persepsi pada tema wisata terintegrasi di pesisir Madura
Observasi semi partisipan	Lokasi penelitian di destinasi wisata Pamekasan	Mendokumentasikan tentang aktivitas wisata di lokasi destinasi, infrastruktur, aktivitas peduli lingkungan, dan interaksi yang terjadi. Direkan dalam bentuk audio visual dan catatan lapangan.
Dokumentasi	Informasi terkait dengan objek riset	Terkumpulnya literature yang sesuai dengan objek riset dalam bentuk teori, konsep, atau riset terdahulu dari jurnal,
		prosiding, atau laporan

Sumber: Olahan peneliti (2022)

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

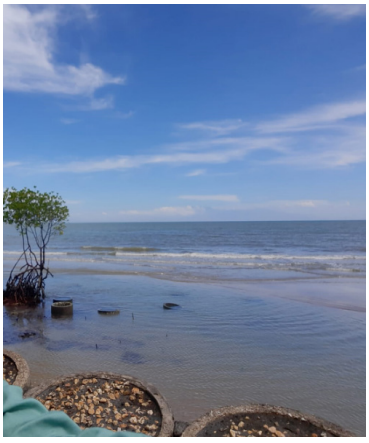
Deskripsi Temuan Penelitian

Riset ini mengambil empat lokasi wisata pesisir selatan Pamekasan, Madura yaitu Pantai Talang Siring, Pantai Legend, Pantai Jumiang, dan mangrove Lembung. Pantai Talang Siring menyuguhkan pesona keindahan dengan berbagai sudut instagenic. Pemilihan empat lokasi tersebut karena sudah memiliki *platform* media sosial dan ulasan di media sosial. Pantai Legend diambil dari nama Desa Padelegan memiliki pemandangan pantai dengan banyak pohon bakau dan cemara yang eksotis, pasir putih dan ombak yang relatif kecil dan tenang. Sedangkan Pantai Jumiang menawarkan atraksi panorama laut dari atas bukit. Pengunjung dapat menikmati birunya laut dari ketinggian. Destinasi keempat adalah ekowisata mangrove Lembung. Destinasi ini mengangkat potensi keindahan pohon mangrove sebagai daya tarik bagi para wisatawan domestik. Ekowisata Mangrove berlokasi di Desa Lembung Kecamatan Galis, Jawa Timur ini memiliki konsep tema wisata edukatif.

Gambar 1. Pantai Talang Siring

Sumber: Dokumentasi peneliti (2022)

Gambar 2. Pantai Legend



Sumber: Dokumentasi peneliti (2022)

Gambar 3. Pantai Jumiang

Sumber: Dokumen peneliti (2022)

Riset ini mendapatkan 200 sampel dengan profil berdasarkan komposisi gender dan usia seperti dalam tabel berikut:,

Tabel 2. Jenis kelamin reponden

No	Jenis Kelamin	Persentase
1	Laki-laki	45.0%
2	Perempuan	55.0%

Sumber: Hasil analisis (2022)

Tabel 3. Usia responden

No	Usia	Persentase
1	Generasi Z (17 – 24 Tahun)	65.5%
2	Generasi Y (25 – 38Tahun)	20.0%
3	Generasi X (39 – 58 Tahun)	14.0%
4	Baby Boomers	.5%

Sumber: Hasil analisis (2022)

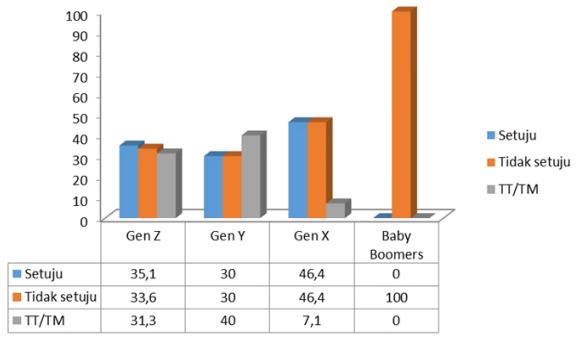
Berdasarkan temuan penelitian yang telah dilakukan diperoleh data bahwa masyarakat dan pengunjung pada empat lokasi riset di pesisir pantai Selatan Pamekasan (Talang Siring , Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung) relatif memiliki pengetahuan yang terbatas tentang destinasi tersebut. Popularitas dari empat destinasi menunjukkan bahwa Pantai Jumiang yang paling dikenal, dengan 94 % responden menjawab tahu dan tidak tahu 6%. Tempat kedua popularitas adalah Pantai Talang Siring dengan responden tahu sebanyak 93% dan tidak tahu 7%. Pantai Legend dikenal oleh 75 % responden dan 25% lainnya menjawab tidak tahu. Sedangkan ekowisata mangrove Lembung dikenal sebanyak 57% responden dan 43% menyatakan tidak tahu.

Sumber informasi wisata pesisir Pamekasan didapatkan responden dari beberapa media. Informasi terbanyak diakses menggunakan *worth of mouth* dari keluarga dan teman (69.5%). Media sosial juga memberi kontribusi pada penyebaran informasi tentang destinasi dengan responden menjawab 41%. Sedangkan sumber informasi lainnya antara lain portal berita online (9%), media luar ruang (baliho, poster dan lain-lain) dan informasi dari instansi pemerintah terkait masing-masing sebanyak 7%, televisi digunakan sebanyak 6.5% responden. Media cetak mendapatkan 6% jawaban dari responden. Sedangkan radio menjadi media yang paling kurang diminati dengan 3%. Sebanyak 90% responden pernah berkunjung ke Pantai Jumiang. Kunjungan responden ke Talang Siring mencapai 88%, Pantai Legend 72% dan Lambung 47%.

Tujuan utama responden ke destinasi adalah berwisata (75.5%). Waktu kunjungan paling sering dilakukan di sore hari (49%). Responden pengunjung dominan menjawab bersama teman dekat/teman sekumpulan (63.5%) ketika berkunjung ke destinasi. Ketika ditanyakan tentang objek wisata pesisir Madura paling disukai adalah Pantai Jumiang (79%). Sedangkan dari sisi infrastruktur menurut responden yang paling mendukung adalah di Pantai Jumiang (6%). Aksesibilitas objek yang mudah dijangkau adalah pantai Talang Siring (18.5%). Sebanyak 35.5% responden setuju apabila empat destinasi tersebut

dijadikan kawasan wisata terintegrasi dengan brand "Talagha". Menurut responden dengan integrasi empat destinasi tersebut akan memberikan keuntungan ekonomi pada warga sekitar. Responden memandang Brand wisata baharí/maritim sesuai disematkan kepadabrand "Talagha" (49%). Untuk pengembangan keempat destinasi untuk menjadi kawasan terintegrasi diperlukan prioritas pada potensi kondisi pantai (57%). Dukungan wisata kuliner/café/restaurant dianggap diperlukan oleh responden untuk penguatan kawasan terintegrasi tersebut (39.5%).

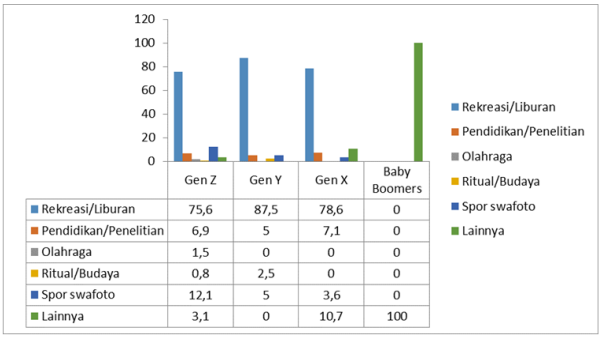
Grafik 1. *Crosstab* jenis kelamin dan tujuan berkunjung ke obyek wisata pesisir terintegrasi



	Gen Z	Gen Y	Gen X	Baby Boomers
Setuju	35,1	30	46,4	0
Tidak setuju	33,6	30	46,4	100
TT/TM	31,3	40	7,1	0

Sumber : Hasil analisis (2022)

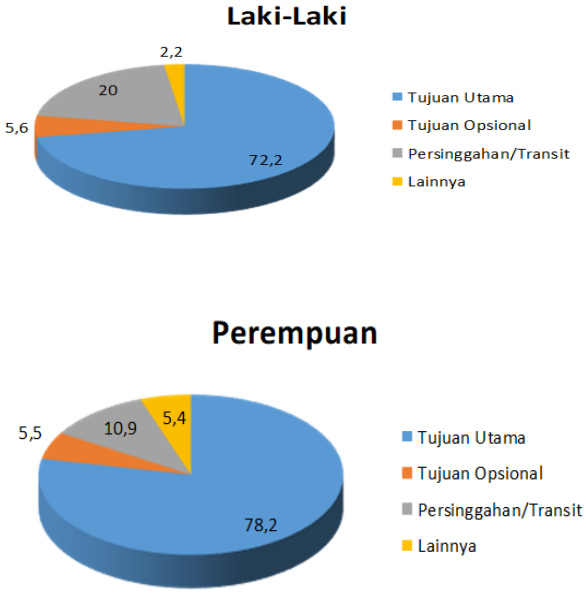
Grafik 2. *Crosstab* usia dan tujuan berkunjung ke obyek wisata pesisir terintegrasi



	Gen Z	Gen Y	Gen X	Baby Boomers
Rekreasi/Liburan	75,6	87,5	78,6	0
Pendidikan/Penelitian	6,9	5	7,1	0
Olahraga	1,5	0	0	0
Ritual/Budaya	0,8	2,5	0	0
Spor swafoto	12,1	5	3,6	0
Lainnya	3,1	0	10,7	100

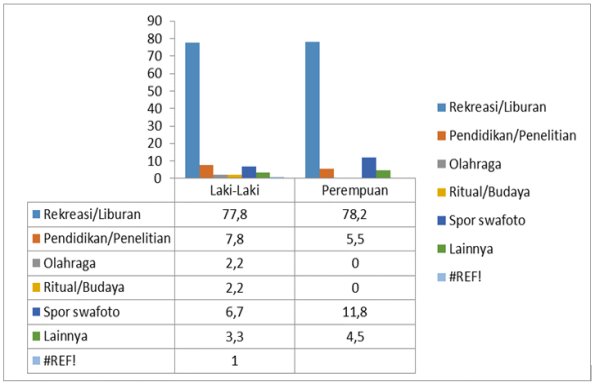
Sumber : Hasil analisis (2022)

Grafik 4. Crosstab usia dan persepsi tentang brand wisata terintegrasi *Talagha*



Sumber : Hasil analisis (2022)

Grafik 3. Crosstab jenis kelamin dan sifat kunjungan ke obyek wisata pesisir terintegrasi



	Laki-Laki	Perempuan
Rekreasi/Liburan	77,8	78,2
Pendidikan/Penelitian	7,8	5,5
Olahraga	2,2	0
Ritual/Budaya	2,2	0
Spor swafoto	6,7	11,8
Lainnya	3,3	4,5
#REF!	1	

Sumber : Hasil analisis (2022)

Talagha Sebagai Model Branding Wisata Pesisir Teintegrasi

Dalam riset ini ditemukan kategorisasi pada pembangunan inisiasi model brand identity pada wisata terintegrasi dengan menggunakan merek "Talagha". Ketiga indikator tersebut adalah pengetahuan tentang merek, asosiasi pada merek, dan kualitas persepsi. Identitas merek (*brand*

identity) menunjukkan kelekatan sebuah objek, peristiwa, atau jasa pada sebuah citra. Pembangunan identitas merek dapat dilakukan dengan beberapa elemen yaitu: penetapan tujuan, keunikan, memahami pasar target, memiliki loyalitas pada merek, otentik, dan pemahaman yang dalam. Mengembangkan merek yang konsisten dimulai dengan membuat panduan gaya merek. Dalam branding ini diperlukan kontribusi dari beberapa kompetensi seperti desainer grafis, pemasar, pengembang web, manajer komunitas, dan bahkan departemen pengemasan produk semuanya dalam rangka menyajikan visi merek yang terpadu kepada publik.

Brand Talagha sebagai bagian dari inisiasi pengembangan wisata terintegrasi juga membutuhkan elemen pendukung tersebut. Penelitian ini merupakan tahapan awal dalam tujuan untuk merumuskan serangkaian identitas merek yang paling sesuai untuk empat destinasi Talang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung. Dari hasil analisis pada temuan penelitian, dilakukan pembangunan model pada pengembangan identitas merek "Talagha" sebagai alternatif memberikan karakter pada visi misi wisata terintegrasi khususnya di wilayah pesisir Selatan Pamekasan.

Gambar 4 Model Inisiasi Identitas Merek (*brand identity*) Talagha

Sumber : Olahan peneliti (2022)

Tujuan dan sejarah merek dapat disesuaikan dengan hasil temuan pada analisis tentang potensi yang dapat dikembangkan dari empat destinasi tersebut. Hasil analisis menyebutkan bahwa sebagian besar responden tertarik untuk berkunjung karena atraksi wisata air yang ada pada tiga pantai (Talang Siring, Legend, dan Jumiang) dan satu ekowisata mangrove Lembung. Penggunaan merek Talagha merupakan akronim dari TAlang Siring, Legend, Jumiang, dan Lembung). Selain bahwa Talagha dalam bahasa Madura berarti telaga yang merupakan destinasi wisata air.

Demografi pengunjung apabila dilihat dari hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa tujuan berkunjung ke objek wisata tersebut paling tinggi adalah untuk rekreasi atau liburan baik responden laki-laki dan maupun perempuan.Temuan unik adalah pada responden perempuan tidak ditemukan motif penelitian atau pendidikan dan olah raga sebagai motivasi dalam berkunjung ke destinasi tersebut. Sedangkan dari segi usia, responden yang memiliki motivasi untuk rekreasi atau liburan adalah generasi Y (usia 25-38 tahun). Sedangkan responden usia baby boomer (usia 59 tahun ke atas) memiliki motivasi selain rekreasi, pendidikan, olah raga, ritual atau budaya, dan spot foto. Sedikit dari reposnden baik dari dimensi jenis kelamin dan usia yang berkunjung hanya sekedar singgah (transit) melainkan memang dengan sengaja berwisata ke destinasi tersebut untuk tujuan utama wisata.

Budaya dan nilai lokal serta nilai bersama komunitas dapat menjadi pengembangan pada temuan dari pertanyaan tentang kontribusi yang dapat

diberikan empat destinasi terintegrasi ini kepada masyarakat lokal yaitu secara ekonomi. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa responden memiliki harapan ke depan bahwa pengelolaan kawasan wisata terintegrasi dapat memberi kontribusi kepada masyarakat lokal maupun pengembangan kelembagaan dalam pengelolaan yang lebi optimal. Persepsi responden pada pengembangan destinasi wisata terintegrasi lebih banyak yang menjawab pada pelekatan karakter wisata air atau maritim. Sedangkan menurut responden yang perlu dan membutuhkan segera diperbaiki adalah fasilitas, sarana dan prasarana, serta kemudahan dalam mencapai destinasi. Temuan lain juga menunjukkan bahwa kontribusi media sosial perlu lebih dimaksimalkan karena sebagian besar responden mengetahui tentang destinasi dari akses informasi di media sosial.

Komunikasi Pemasaran dalam Branding Wisata Pesisir Terintegrasi

Pembangunan kawasan wisata terintegrasi memberikan dukungan dan kebijakan pada pengembangan destinasi pariwisata yang memberi dampak pada perekonomian masyarakat setempat. Kawasan wisata terintegrasi menjadikan destinasi menjadi kluster berdasarkan kriteria dan karakteristik tertentu. Beberapa jenis pariwisata dikelompokkan berdasarkan ciri destinasi, faktor geografis, dan atraksi.

Tabel 2. Atraksi beragam destinasi wisata

Klaster	Bentuk
Ciri destinasi	wisata industri, wisata konvensi, wisata sosial, wisata pilgrim
Faktor geografis	wisata maritim (marina) atau bahari, wisata pertanian, wisata cagar alam
Atraksi	wisata budaya, wisata kesehatana, wisata olahraga, wisata buru wisata komersial, wisata politik, wisata buru wisata bulan madu wisata petualangan

Sumber: Olahan peneliti (2022)

Kebijakan dari otoritas dalam mempermudah dan menjamin hadirnya kawasan wisata terintegrasi perlu dilakukan selain untuk kepentingan koordinasi dengan pemangku kepentingan juga untuk penguatan daerah destinasi terintegrasi. *Unique selling point* dari pengembangan kawasan terintegrasi selain dari dimensi ekonomi juga menjadi media untuk konservasi keunggulan komparatif sumber daya alam di lokasi destinasi. Nilai lokalitas dalam ide-ide, budaya, seni tradisional, dan kuliner menjadi bagian tidak terpisahkan dari pengembangan kawasan ini. Optimalisasi pada segenap potensi dengan pelibatan dari segenap pemangku kepentingan dengan koordinasi yang sinergis dapat menciptakan keterpaduan pengelolaan pariwisata, atraksi sumber daya alam, dan kearifan lokal. Dalam konteks ini masyarakat setempat dilibatkan dengan usaha pemberdayaan ekonomi, sosial, dan budaya (Kusbandrijo et al., 2018).

Masyarakat menjadi basis dalam model pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan (Ngaisah et al., 2021). *Community based tourism* (CBT) merupakan konsep dan praktis pelibatan masyarakat sebagai pelaku industri pariwisata. Model

pendekatan pemberdayaan CBT menjadi inovasi dalam bentuk pariwisata partisipatif. Dalam pariwisata partisipatif, keterlibatan masyarakat dilakukan dalam tiga bentuk: pemberdayaan ekonomi, penerima manfaat dari kegiatan kepariwisataan setempat, dan menjadi bagian dari pengambilan keputusan dalam pengelolaan destinasi (Timothy, 1999). Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun 2009 tentang kepariwisatan, pada Bab III pasal 5 menyatakan bahwa prinsip penyelenggaraan keparisiwataan Indonesia diamanatkan untuk keterlibatan dan mempertimbangkan kepentingan masyarakat lokal. CBT menjadi indikasi dari kemanfaatan yang diberikan destinasi dan pengelolaannya pada upaya pelibatan secara aktif masyarakat lokal. Konsep ini juga memungkinkan kelompok-kelompok yang tertarik dalam tema pengelolaan dan manajemen destinasi melakukan supervisi dalam rangka memberikan alternatif untuk pencapaian kesejahteraan entitas lokal terkait (Zidni, 2017).

Pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan dapat dicapai dengan pemenuhan pada beberapa komponen. Kawasan wisata terintegrasi dapat menjadi inisiasi pada pertumbuhan secara kuantitatif maupun kualitatif pada segenap entitas pelaku wisata. Kawasan wisata terintegrasi memberi dampak pada beberapa sektor diantaranya: sektor diantaranya: dinamisnya pertumbuhan ekonomi lokal, tercapaianya kesejahteraan masyarakat, perlindungan terhadap sumber daya alam, pelestarian kebudayaan tradisional, dan pemenuhan pada kebutuhan wisatawan akan tema lingkungan (*green tourism*). Nilai kepedulian wisatawan pada tema-tema destinasi alam, menjadi kesempatan (*opportunity*) dari pengembangan wisata terintegrasi di Kawasan pesisir selatan Pamekasan, Madura. Selain itu, pembangunan wisata terintegrasi perlu ditekankan pada pemeliharaan mutu dan keberlanjutan sumber daya alam dan lokalitas baik budaya maupun kesejahteraan (Zidni, 2017).

Wisata terintegrasi secara ideal membutuhkan tiga komponen yaitu: destinasi wisata, transportasi, dan *green economy*. Pembangunan kawasan wisata terintegrasi menjadi salah satu alternatif dalam penyediaan destinasi dengan pilihan atraksi dan fasilitas yang komplementer.

Sektor pariwisata yang berkembang dan terintegrasi dapat menjadi penyumbang dalam mengurangi *current deficit account* (CAD) pada sektor ekonomi negara. Pengembangan industri pariwisata berkelanjutan perlu disesuaikan dengan nilai dalam standar Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif melalui kebersihan, kesehatan, keamanan dan keberlanjutan lingkungan (CHSE). Pola ini sebagai bagian dari pelayanan prima yang dapat memberikan atensi positif dari wisatawan.

KESIMPULAN

Dari hasil analisis didapatkan gambaran tentang pemetaan potensi destinasi kawasan terintegrasi dengan dimensi dari demografi, pengetahuan, dan sikap. Sedangkan dalam penguatan pada temuan, dikembangkan model inisiasi Brand identity dengan menghadirkan logo dan komponen terkait yang dapat digunakan untuk mengenalkan merek Talagha sebagai kawasan wisata air terintegrasi di Pamekasan. Kepada

stakeholder terkait dapat melakukan penguatan dengan mengundang triple helix untuk reformulasi pembangunan kawasan wisata pesisir terintegrasi. Pengunjung untuk dapat memiliki referensi tentang beragam potensi dari empat destinasi wisata yang menjadi objek penelitian. Untuk penelitian selanjutnya dapat melakukan uji coba (*trial*) dari identitas brand yang ditawarkan untuk dapat melakukan perbaikan dan pengembangan.

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The Predictive Roles Of Leadership And Communicating Religious Commitment In Energy Sustainability Change Readiness

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Abstract

Industrial fields of Indonesia are facing challenging issues of energy sustainability. As the country's second-largest energy consumer behind the transportation sector, industrial's consumption is massively dominated by non-renewable energy and the lack of adequate energy waste management. Organizations need to build employee readiness to change toward energy sustainability. Leadership is reasonably a significant predictor of organizational change readiness (RtC). Religious commitment (RC) emerges as a personal motivator for pro-environmental behaviour because individuals perceive looking after nature and the environment as adhering to religious values and teachings. The society of Indonesia views religiosity as a virtue and values social hierarchy as one of the most substantial social structures. Accordingly, this study aims to examine the predictive roles of leadership and RC on organizational RtC and the features in communicating both predictors in change leadership. A mix-method approach was carried out by delivering questionnaires (N=257), conducting interviews, and focus group discussions with 35 managers and employees in the textile industry. A significant influence of leadership on RtC is found, strengthened by the impact of RC. Qualitative findings depicted religious meanings of energy sustainability and how leaders communicate their religiosity in employee behavioral changes.

Keywords: *Organizational readiness to change; Energy sustainability; Leadership; Religious commitment*

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Kepemimpinan dan Komunikasi Komitmen Religiusitas sebagai Faktor Prediktif membangun Kesiapan Perubahan menuju Ketahanan Energi

Abstrak

Dunia industri Indonesia sebagai penyerap konsumsi energi terbesar kedua setelah sector transportasi menghadapi tantangan ketahanan energi dengan masifnya dominasi tenaga energi non terbarukan (fosil) dan minimnya pengelolaan limbah energi. Organisasi perlu membangun kesiapan

perubahan melalui pembentukan perilaku karyawan secara kolektif menuju ketahanan energi. Peran pemimpin terbukti secara empiris menjadi peramal keberhasilan kesiapan perubahan organisasi. Komitmen religius mengemuka sebagai motivator personal berperilaku ramah lingkungan karena merawat lingkungan dimaknai sebagai kepatuhan pada nilai dan ajaran agama. Sejalan dengan konteks Indonesia sebagai masyarakat yang menjunjung tinggi hirarki sosial dan nilai religiusitas, studi ini berfokus pada pengaruh kepemimpinan dan komitmen religious terhadap kesiapan perubahan organisasi. Metode mix-method dilakukkan dengan menyebarkan kuesioner (N=257) dan melakukan wawancara serta *focus group discussion* pada 35 orang manajemen dan karyawan di industri tekstil. Terbukti adanya pengaruh signifikan kepemimpinan terhadap kesiapan berubah organisasi, diperkuat pengaruh komitmen religius. Temuan kualitatif mendeskripsikan makna religius ketahanan energi manajemen dan karyawan, serta cara pemimpin mengomunikasikannya dalam membangun perilaku ketahanan energi karyawan.

Kata kunci: *Kesiapan perubahan organisasi; Ketahanan energi; Kepemimpinan; Komitmen religius*

INTRODUCTION

Energy sustainability has been recognized as paramount for global human welfare. Two major contradictory issues characterize global energy sustainability: energy accessibility and energy waste management. Lack of sufficient access to electricity is a fact of life for 13% of the world's population (Ritchie et al., 2022). On the other hand, those with ample access deal with excessive energy use and problematic waste management, leading to environmental problems such as the greenhouse effect and pollution. Regional cultures are also affecting how waste is managed throughout the country. Indonesia would face several issues considering its wide variety of cultures, which creates a new difficulty in waste management (Marta et al., 2022).

This information shows that Indonesia also faces cultural sensitivity among its community ranks. It allows several stimulations between the community's interactions and how they treat other cultures differently (Angreani et al., 2021). Cultural diversities in Indonesia have created many opportunities for internal and external cultures to collaborate on different things, such as waste management (Harry et al., 2021).

Indonesia faces many challenges concerning energy sustainability, from the heavily dominated nonrenewable energy sources and inefficient energy consumption to inadequate energy excess management. Electricity powerhouses in Indonesia are still dominated by oil, gas, and coal. (The National Energy Council of the Indonesian Ministry of Energy and Resources, 2019) predicts that the government needs to switch to renewable energy immediately to avoid a future energy crisis. Indonesia›s energy consumption for three decades (1990-2021) shows an ever-increasing trend, the highest among other ASEAN countries and more elevated than industrial countries with large areas such as Australia (*Electricity Domestic Consumption*, 2021). In line with that, several challenges are faced by Indonesia in realizing energy sustainability (Rahma, 2021).

The industrial sector in Indonesia is ranked as the second largest energy consumer, covering 37% of Indonesia's

total energy consumption, under the transportation sector. Therefore, industry and business are essential for the country's energy sustainability. This is especially true for the textile industry, which becomes our research setting. The textile industry has been formally designated as one of the national strategic industries due to its supporting role in national economic growth. On the other hand, the Indonesian textile industry is also known as one of the most significant contributors to energy consumption through their electrical and thermal energy absorption as well as the massive use of water in the production process. Active and participatory involvement in the textile industry will greatly support energy sustainability efforts in Indonesia.

Energy sustainability efforts have been existing in Indonesia. The government has issued several policies and has announced a national commitment to energy sustainability at the Bali G20 Summit in November 2022. A number of ideas and studies have been carried out to build solid knowledge and practices for sustainable energy, among others are the importance of restructuring fiscal policy that focuses on forms, targets, and pre-conditions for renewable energy incentives (Tambunan, 2018), green product innovation in the fashion industry for SMEs (Ginting & Tampubolon, 2021), the commitment of the Indonesian business world in We Mean Business, a global movement for accelerating low-carbon economy and sustainable business (Mychelisda & Firdaus, 2021). Needless to say, these studies are important and valuable for promoting energy sustainability in Indonesia. On the other hand, there is only limited studies carried out in the textile industry and organizations focusing on human behavior. Whereas the primary challenge in building energy sustainability is the low acceptance of environmental friendly energy (Rahma, 2021).

Energy sustainability would also require support from the citizens. This is done by educating citizens about the urgency of energy sustainability in Indonesia (Chinmi et al., 2021). Socializing energy sustainability would allow Indonesian citizens to be on the same page with its importance. This will enable organizations or governments to create energy sustainability programs supported by their communities in the affected region (Lang et al., 2020).

Organizational Behaviour studies emphasize the importance of readiness to change (RtC) in organizations. The study by M showed that RtC influenced the quality of communication change and employee participation in PT Bank Mandiri. Furthermore, discussions on organizational change pointed out leadership as a key factor. Accordingly, leaders' role in Indonesia is crucial in changing societal behaviour (Murniati et al., 2018) and in organizations (Murniati et al., 2018; Yosua et al., 2021). Moreover, Murniati et al. (2022) suggested considering cultural values in building pro-environmental behaviour. Global eco-friendly concepts and approaches are associated with western values and culture. On the other hand, quite a number of eco-friendly practices in Indonesia are based on local wisdom (Murniati et al., 2022). Religiosity is one of the prominent societal values in Indonesia,

where playing a role is not only in social relations but also influencing behaviour at work, organization, and leadership (Panggabean et al., 2014). Several studies show the role of religious values and local wisdom in developing eco-friendly behaviour (Karimi et al., 2022a; Suryadi & Kusnendi, 2016). In this case, religious values as personal values become internal drivers to develop attitudes and behaviours that respect nature.

Furthermore, organizational behaviour is affected not only by the organization's internal factors but also by its external factors. Organizations are required to change in meeting the community's standards (Gandakusumah & Marta, 2021). It is an essential aspect for all members of any organization who would like to execute their strategy in different regions. It will assist them in approaching various citizens easier and facilitate their acceptance into the community (Marsen, 2020).

Following this view, this study aims to explore the influence of the leadership role and religious commitment (RC) on change readiness toward organizational energy sustainability in the textile industry. Two textile manufacturing companies participated are PT Sri Rejeki Isman Tbk (PT Sritex), in Sukoharjo, Central Java, and PT Harapan Kurnia in Padalarang, West Java. This study will answer the research question: "How do Leadership and Religious Commitment effect readiness of change toward energy sustainability in the Indonesian textile industry?" This study uses a mixed method where a quantitative approach was carried out by distributing questionnaires, and a qualitative approach was carried out through interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with management and employees in both.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Energy availability, affordability, and accessibility are primary indicators of national energy sustainability (*Government Regulation No. 79 of 2014 Concerning National Energy Policy*, 2014). At first glance, efforts to build energy security are sufficient by procuring energy in adequate quantities with high access power, including green energy processes. Such a view is certainly right, yet it is narrow-sighted because it has not touched the human aspect, which is the leading actor in environmental problems (Murniati et al., 2022).

Greenpeace Indonesia identified four main environmental problems in Indonesia, namely air pollution, plastic waste, destruction of coral reefs, and deforestation. Even though, the basic causes of these four issues are different, there is one thing in common, namely the people behind the occurrence of these problems. Therefore, building energy sustainability will be more likely to succeed when considering the human aspect (Murniati et al., 2022). Humans determine the type of fuel, choice of goods, fishing practices, or land clearing that are more environmentally friendly.

In general, pro-environmental behaviour (PEB) is understood as all actions that minimize environmental damage, or even benefit it (Tian & Liu, 2022). This definition also includes efforts to improve the quality of environmental conditions and reduce negative impacts. Within the

framework of sustainability, the notion of PEB can be formulated as all actions that make it possible to achieve environmental sustainability (Tian & Liu, 2022).

The abundant works of PEB can be grouped into three clusters: 1) those focusing on individual roles (employees, students, residents, or tourists), for example, corporate CSR promotes pro-environmental behaviour of employees through organizational identity; 2) those focusing on causal factors such as norms, attitudes, perceptions of control, habits, beliefs and so on. These studies often refer to two theories, namely the Theory of Planned Behaviour and Value-belief-norm Theory, and 3) focusing on the consequences of PEB, such as happiness, positive emotions, and so on (Tian & Liu, 2022).

This study belongs to the second cluster, which looks at the role of human personal values. Schwartz (1992) defines value as a principle that provides relevant and desirable life goals by and to individuals. Values are a way of life and a guide rooted in the individual's personality (Schwartz, 1992). Values unconsciously influence a person in behaving, prioritizing something or another, determining intentions, and controlling individual judgments (Murniati et al., 2022). Research around values shows that the stronger individuals hold values beyond self-interest, the more likely they are to engage in pro-environmental behaviour (Steg & Vlek, 2009).

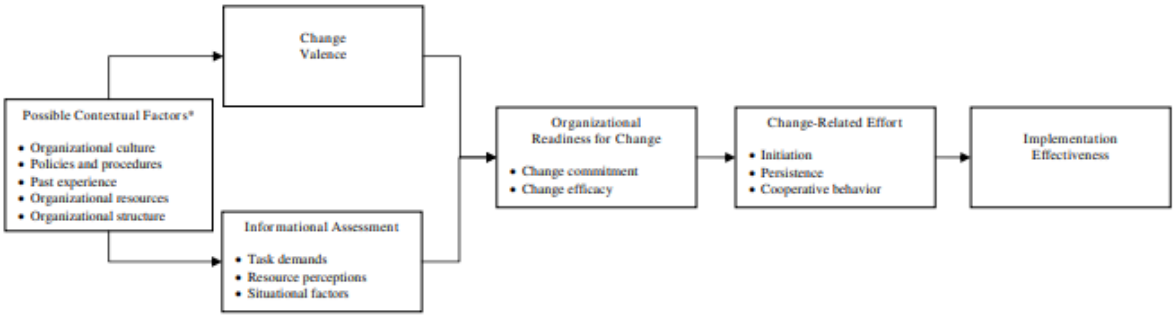
The industrial massive energy consumption includes compliance with environmental aspects in global organizational accountability parameters such as the SDGs. A significant number of organizational transformations into ‹green organizations› have occurred as a result of compliance with these global organizational parameters. Moreover, subsequent studies have shown that organizations that comply with these external regulations also have further benefits, such as increasing organizational attractiveness in talent competition (Guerci et al., 2016), creating a positive brand positioning by strengthening aspects of social responsibility and a prestigious image (Guillot-Soulez et al., 2022; Stritch & Christensen, 2016) and of course has a real impact on reducing environmental pollution (Nagesha, 2008).

Not only is the image built with the organization›s external environment, but the organization›s commitment to ‹go green› also benefits the attitudes and behavior changes of employees who are more willing to change their behavior to be more environmentally friendly. Several studies show that employees consider the commitment and seriousness of their workplaces in addressing environmental issues. The more employees believe that the organization where they work is committed and serious about contributing to energy sustainability, the more they will show sustainability behavior (Dahiya, 2020; Ruepert et al., 2017a; van der Werff et al., 2021). Pro-environmental Employee behavior plays a vital role in supporting organizational readiness to change.

Organizational readiness to change (RtC) refers to how employees are psychologically and behaviourally prepared to be involved in organizational change (Weiner, 2009). This concept plays an important role in the success of organizational change. Wiener's RtC model (2009) emphasizes that organizational factors (e.g., organizational culture/values, organizational structure) and human factors

play an equally important role in change achievements (see Figure 1). The human factor includes the extent to which the change is considered valuable (change valence), the quality of information about the change (informational assessment), commitment to change (change commitment), and the employee's evaluation of his ability to carry out the change (change efficacy). The organizational change program towards a 'green organization' will be more effective if management succeeds in building employee motivation to commit and employee confidence that they are capable of carrying out these changes. With change commitment and change efficacy, a shared determination is created, leading to collective efforts and a cooperative attitude in implementing go-green initiatives. Support for organizational factors will help accelerate the implementation of systematic changes in behaviour, such as organizational values/ culture, consistent organizational policies and procedures, adequate resources from the organization such as mentoring, and a clear structure.

Figure 1. Determinants and Outcomes of Organizational Readiness for Change



Source: (Weiner, 2009)

Studies on organizational RtC towards energy sustainability in Indonesia show the critical role of adaptive organizational culture. Open organizations which encourage adaptive values to change are significantly related to the readiness for organizational changes toward energy security (Halim & Panggabean, 2020). When employee perceives their company flexible and adaptive to environmental issues, their environmental-oriented personal values (the biospheric value) will be strengthened and will lead to an increase in RtC (Halim, 2022).

Murniati et al. (2022) emphasized the importance of leadership in building sustainable behavior at the individual, group, and organizational levels. Developing PEB involves systematic, persistent, and highly consistent behavioral change efforts. The influence of opinion leaders who consistently roll out environmentally friendly messages through social networks has been proven to encourage changes in environmentally friendly behavior in community groups (Geiger et al., 2019; Howell et al., 2015). In line with the importance of the leader›s role in changing community behavior, the role of the leader in determining the success of organizational change is evident. Murniati et al. (2022) conveyed the idea of the importance of adequate strategic and operational leadership in green organization transformation. The scope of leader behavior spans quite a wide

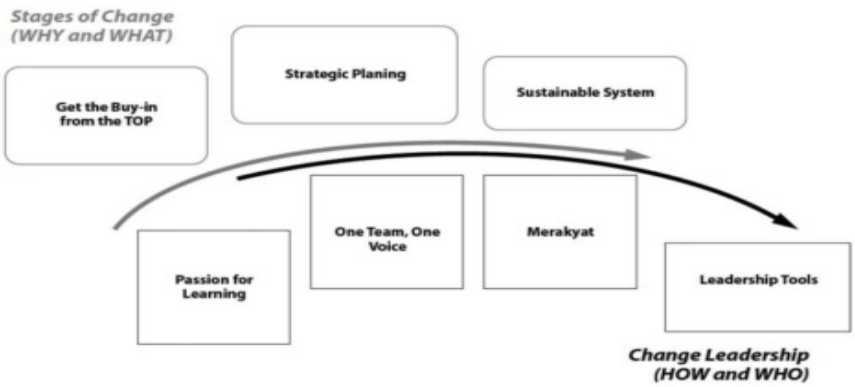
range, from building a vision that becomes a ‹shared dream,' planning and building systems, consistently monitoring system implementation, building enthusiasm, and providing employee role models. The view of Murniati et al. (2022) aligns with several studies that state that leaders influence RtC in organizational change (Waisya & Weib, 2020; Wardani et al., 2020).

Recent leadership theory has recognized the role of culture in leadership style (Yukl & Gardner, 2020). The cultural perspective on leadership is rooted in the notion that as an individual in general, a leader is born and raised in a particular cultural context that will direct his mindset, emotions, and behavior patterns. This idea is then supported by cross-cultural studies, which show that there are cultural variations in leadership styles across cultures (Dorfman et al., 2012; Hofstede et al., 2010)

In the context of Indonesian culture, Panggabean et al. (2014) proposed the idea of a facilitative leadership style characterized by a strong orientation towards personal relationships, involving participatory leadership, and providing personal support. The target of facilitative leadership is to motivate employees to change. The facilitative leadership style can be applied in the context of public and business leadership (Murniati et al., 2018), which then intersects strongly with transformative leadership styles. Leadership applies not only to certain people who are chosen to command their organizations but also to those who will cultivate the audience's opinions. The perspective is supported by social media accounts used to manage the relationship of a figure or a group to the audience (Samiaji et al., 2022).

Based on the Indonesian concept of facilitative leadership, (Murniati et al., 2020) conducted an in-depth study of 22 top executives of change leaders in Indonesian business organizations and developed a change leadership model known as 'The Model of Two Sides of A Coin" which addresses both elements of change based on Indonesian culture (Figure 2). The Two Sides of a Coin Model examines Indonesia›s leadership in organizational change. Leadership is two-side analogous of a coin that are closely related and cannot be separated from one another. The two sides are: 1) the dynamics of change itself (stages of change) and 2) the role of change leadership. Both components must receive full attention and be adequately managed when significant changes occur. The two sides/ parts do not start simultaneously (represented by arrows).

Figure 2. The Model of Two Sides of A Coin



Source: (Murniati et al., 2020)

Three stages of dynamic changes are identified: 1) garnering commitment from the highest leadership or business owner, a critical phase; 2) strategic planning developing the change plan along with change agent roles, including the implementation of the change; 3) sustainable system, namely how to create sustainable change, not only happening and succeeding in confident leaders but also always continuing, including when the leader is gone.

Change leadership focuses on the leader's strategy in managing the people aspect, which includes four essential things: 1) enthusiasm for learning, 2) one team one voice, 3) sociable (hands-on), and 4) the leadership tools. The four aspects of leadership change play a role from the initial stage until the change is achieved. Thus, how the two parties or components go together during the change process is very clear.

Works on the model both in business and non-business organizations (universities) show the importance of the personal communication aspect of a leader. Warm, open, and personal communication between leaders and their change teams or employees is the key to successful change. Socialization and education about change are a means of communicating changes at the start. During implementation, leaders are expected to be present and greet employees directly. People's behaviour is characterized by going to the field to monitor the course of change and to gather input and aspirations of employees (Murniati et al., 2020; Yosua et al., 2021).

The spirituality of leaders is a further important finding in the studies, as mentioned earlier, reflecting the importance of religiosity for Indonesian society. Regardless of the religion they adhere to, leaders consider the aspect of spirituality important in managing change. Spirituality is recognized as a source of mental strength and direction when experiencing a crisis of change or making critical and unpopular decisions. Unsurprisingly, leaders prioritize their religiosity, such as carrying out religious worship, engaging in religious activities, and carrying out various methods of mediation and reflection.

The Republic of Indonesia was established in 1945, followed instantly by the discussion on whether the newborn state should proclaim itself as an Islamic country. Initially, a group of Islamic politicians proposed Sharia as the official law in the Jakarta Charter. However, the nationalist group refused on the grounds of religious pluralism in Indonesia. Finally, it was decided that Indonesia adheres to monotheism as a belief system by believing in only one God. The strong religiosity belief has been maintained until recently as the Pew Research Centre 2020 ranks Indonesia as one of the most religious societies in the world with the highest percentage of citizens (96 percent). Gallup survey in 2009 placed Indonesia in fourth place as the most religious country in the world. As many as 99 percent of Indonesians consider religion an important and influential factor in everyday life, and 95 percent state that religion plays a positive role.

The religiosity of the Indonesian people is marked by upholding religious values in everyday life. Panggabean et al. (2014) show that religious values are

one of Indonesia›s most important social structures, and it directs Indonesians› thoughts, feelings, and behavior. Religious-oriented social behavior goes beyond one's personal life domain; aspects of religiosity characterize social life and the Indonesian business world. Arrangements for worship life during the Covid-19 pandemic, changing hours and work rhythms during Ramadan and Eid Al-Fitr, to the expectation for public and business leaders to appear as religious figures all of which show that religiosity is very strong in the lives of Indonesian people.

The role of religion in the formation of human behavior is part of belief or value in the cultural structure. In the context of Religious Commitment behavior (RC), religion is viewed as more than just a set of belief systems (Sosis & Kiper, 2014) but also as an expression of identity. In addition, religious systems will continuously adjust and reinterpret at the individual level (Hassan, 2007). Worthington›s model theory defines RC as the degree to which a person adheres to their religion›s values, beliefs, and practices and applies them in everyday life (Worthington et al., 2003). Religious commitment involves more than mere obedience and adherence to a set of beliefs in a particular religion but also devotional, ritual, social and ethical dimensions (Wiles, 1995).

Several researchers have tried to explore the influence of RC on several aspects of human life, both positive and negative. For example, regarding health behavior, Levin & Markides (1985) have found that religious dimensions correlate with several indicators of functional health in a person›s life. King (1990) confirms this by summarizing previous studies on the relationship between religion (religious commitment) and health, which can be concluded that the religious dimension is relevant to a person›s healthy lifestyle. On the other hand, belief in religion actually also acts as an inhibiting factor for someone to behave in a healthy life. People who adopt religious beliefs and have an external locus of control accept and adhere absolutely to external factors relevant to their health behavior. As a result, they refused medical assistance until their death.

We are approaching this study›s critical question: What is religion›s role in the workplace readiness to change towards energy sustainability? In general, religiosity influences sustainable behavior, in which the more religious, the more motivated to participate in sustainable behavior (Minton et al., 2015), including in energy sustainability (Koehrsen, 2015). Research conducted by Ab. Wahab (2017) found that specific religious work values have a significant relationship with sustainable work behavior and energy consumption behavior.

Based on the discussions, we formulated our hypotheses as follows,

H_1: Leadership and Religious Commitment Influence Readiness to Change in Energy Sustainability.

H_0: Leadership and Religious Commitment do not influence Readiness to Change in Energy Sustainability.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study applied a mixed-method approach, aiming to map and explain complex human behavior from multiple

perspectives (Cohen et al., 2007). A quantitative approach was applied because it can reach a broad group of participants, its explanatory nature, effective control towards the study objectives (Haig, 2012) and systematic and integrative data processing (Foss & Ellefsen, 2002). A qualitative approach allows for exploring the depth and uniqueness of one›s insights and experiences (Flick, 2009) and provides roars for participants to explore feelings (Biggerstaff, 2012; Flick, 2009).

Quantitative data collection was conducted by delivering questionnaires to 257 employees of the two textile companies, namely PT Sritex and PT. Harapan Kurnia Tekstil Indonesia. Prior to data collection, we conducted a single-item reliability analysis, face validity, and item-total correlation validity procedures (Kaplan & Saccuzo, 2017; Yohannes et al., 2011). Three questionnaires were applied, namely (1) Organizational Readiness to Change (reliability 0.9, item validity 0.624-0.803, all items are valid (2) Leadership Measurement (Murniati et al., 2022), reliability 0.8, item validity 0.701-0.805, all items are valid ; (3) Religious Commitment is a single-item questionnaire. We conducted a face validity procedure (Yohannes et al., 2011), and the item is valid. We applied path analysis using JASP as a data analysis procedure.

Participants for our qualitative data collection comprised 35 managers and employees from participating companies. We applied a purposive-maximum variation sampling technique (Patton, 2014). The participant criteria include (1) full-time employees; (2) minimum job tenure is one year. Interviews and FGD were conducted with them, focusing on questions on leadership roles in building organizational change readiness and perceptions of the organizational change through the lens of their religious beliefs and values. Data were analyzed with Thematic Analysis with MaxQDA.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Table 1. *Participant Demographics*

Category	Demographic Data	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	176	68.482%
	Female	81	31.518%
	Total	257	100%
Age	<= 20	22	8.56%
	21 – 30	120	46.69%
	31 - 40	57	22.18%
	41 - 50	46	17.90%
	> 50	11	4.28%
	Missing	1	0.39%
	Total	257	100%
Job Tenure	< 5	110	42.80%
	5 - 10	77	29.96%
	10 - 15	28	10.89%
	15 - 20	3	1.17%
	20 - 25	18	7.00%
	> 25	20	7.78%
	Total	257	100%
Education	Junior High School	22	8.56%
	Senior High School	206	80.16%
	Diploma	11	4.28%
	Bachelor	16	6.23%
	Others	2	0.78%
	Total	257	100%
Department	Finishing	71	27.63%
	Spinning	60	23.35%
	Washing	23	8.95%
	Weaving	72	28.02%
	Others	31	12.06%
	Total	257	100%

Job Position	Operator	170	66.15%
	Staff	23	8.959%
	Technicians	17	6.61%
	Administrative Personnel	28	10.90%
	Others	19	7.39%
	Total	257	100%

Source : Researcher's Document

257 respondents (68.5 percent male and 31.5 percent female) participated in the quantitative study. The majority is 21-30 years old, with most respondents being high school graduates. They come from various departments: 9 percent washing, 27.6 percent finishing, 23.3 percent Spinning, 28 percent Weaving, and 12 percent other departments. Most respondents have a high school education or equivalent (80.156 percent). This is in line with the composition of respondents based on job positions, most of which are dominated by operator positions (66.148 percent) whose minimum education requirement is high school or equivalent. Regarding to age, employees in the 21 to 30 age group (46.69 percent) appear to dominate. Meanwhile, respondents who have worked for less than five years (42.802 percent) are the largest group based on job tenure.

The data shows that the average values for the three variables are high based on scores ranging from 1 to 7. The Religious Commitment (RC) score is the highest (Mean = 6.07) compared to Readiness to Change (Mean = 5.97) and Leadership (Mean = 5.7). The main level of RC indicates a strong devotion to religion as a guiding principle in performing behaviours aligned with attempts to achieve energy security. Meanwhile, the readiness to change, which is also relatively high, reflects the variety of strategies the company implements, which is perceived as the company's readiness to work for energy security. Even the implementation of the strategy is inseparable from the role of leadership, which is perceived to have been aligned with its strategic role in enforcing energy security within the company.

The results of data analysis in Table 2 demonstrate a significant correlation between Readiness to Change with Leadership (sign <.001; r=0.413), Religious Commitment with Leadership (sign <.001; r=0.211), and Religious Commitment with Readiness to change (sign <.001; r=0.348). These three correlated variables are interesting for further analysis to produce a patterned model by posing Readiness to Change as an outcome, and the other two variables were placed as predictors.

Table 2. *Pearson›s Correlations*

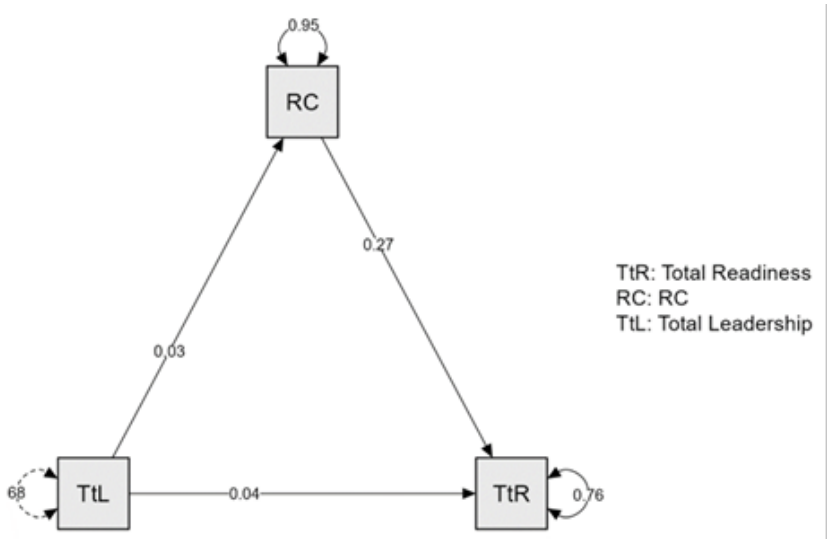
	Total Leadership	Total Readiness	RC
Total Leadership	Pearson›s r	—	
	p-value	—	
Total Readiness	Pearson›s r	0.413	—
	p-value		—
RC	Pearson›s r	0.211	0.348
	p-value	< .001	< .001

Source : Researcher's Document

In this study, to identify the role of RC in its relationship with Leadership and Readiness to Change, a path analysis was conducted with the results shown in Table

2 with the path plot in Figure 3. The results demonstrate that RC is a mediator variable in the relationship between Leadership and Readiness to Change. This means that the existence of RC strengthens the influence of Leadership on organizational Readiness to Change in preparing for energy security. Thus, H_0 is rejected, and H_1 is accepted.

Figure 3. Path analysis



Source : Researcher's Document

Table 3. *Path coefficients*

			Estimate	Std. Error	z-value	p	95% Confidence Interval Lower	Upper
RC	→	Total Readiness	0.273	0.056	4.921	< .001	0.165	0.382
Total Leadership	→	Total Readiness	0.043	0.007	6.392	< .001	0.030	0.056
Total Leadership	→	RC	0.026	0.007	3.466	< .001	0.011	0.040

Note. Delta method standard errors, normal theory confidence intervals, ML estimator.

Source : Researcher's Document

Table 4. *R-Squared*

	R^2
Total Readiness	0.242
RC	0.045

Source : Researcher's Dokument

RC only explains 4.5% of Readiness to change, while along with Leadership, it can explain 24% of the variables.Qualitative Analysis

Table 5. *Categories and themes of communicating leadership and religious commitment.*

Categories	Themes	Frequency of responses
Religious values	(1) urge to avoid hypocrisy; (2) taking personal responsibility; (3) working is including worshiping (4) resiliency.	11
Workplace religious practices	(1) daily religious activities; (2) sincerity and genuine	5

Source : Researcher's Document

The qualitative data shows the organization's readiness to embrace energy sustainability transformation. The change readiness begins with seeking empirical data to make strategic organizational decisions.

The targeted data is comprehensive and covers the whole range of energy consumption in production.

> *"We have abundant data. We have coal boiler data, water treatment data, water waste, water intake, and also monthly electricity usage" (HSN, Director)*

The religious commitment that supports leaders' change readiness towards energy sustainability is based on religious beliefs and values. Leaders focus on their religious teachings and concepts and share specific expressions or dogma from their religion, one of which is the belief that wasting energy violates religious teachings.

> *"This is related to religion. Actually, Islam, my religion, taught that to waste something is (considered temptation of) Satan. So, waste is forbidden." (SR, Manager)*

Internalization of religious values influences leadership performance to display exemplary behavior in energy sustainability. Four main themes are shared by the managers participant group that reflect their religious values.

First is the urge to avoid hypocrisy, interpreted as an inconsistency between words and actions.

> *".. if we pray for God to hinder us from wasting, but we waste anyway, then we are a hypocrite." (SR, Manager)*

The second value is taking personal responsibility. It is attributed to a belief that performing energy-saving behavior is part of leaders' integrity. Accordingly, conducting energy-saving is a personal responsibility that should be carried out in private and public life, regardless of social control. In this case, the belief is that Allah sees all our behavior, including energy-wasting.

> *" Doing the act of saving is not only because we want people to see us. We also know that Allah sees what things we do. For example, nobody sees us when we bath, but does it mean we may waste water? We must do saving even without social gain. " (SR, Manager)*

The third religious value relates to the importance of persistence and hopes in striving for workplace energy sustainability. To view work as a worship becomes a strong drive to put in the best

effort for energy sustainability, as it is mentioned below,

> *"Yes, working is also part of worship, right? Worship should be completed. Therefore, we should not give up, just move on and continue our steps" (BD, Group Leader)*

The fourth value reflects the spirit of resiliency when facing challenges in performing consistency and endurance to save energy. This is caused by many temptations to behave inconsistently in thrifty. On the other hand, the impact of thrift has not meet expectations yet. In this situation, religious commitment encourages a person not to give up and to remain optimistic.

> *"As a Muslim, we got bored and lost hope from time to time. It is ironic that we are religious but lose our hope, which is not good. We must be resilient and keep our hope high. Then the next wealth we should have was to be rich in faith. One of the signs of strong faith is to change something impossible to be possible, right?" (SR, Manager).*

While the management group of participants focuses on religious values, the employee group's perception of energy sustainability is mainly indicated by religious practices. In this sense, the non-managerial participants discuss energy-saving issues by linking them with daily practices as they carry out religious activities.

> *"From religion, there are lots of mosques here, there are also signs and written announcements to use water properly, to turn off the sink after ablution." (BU, staff)*
>
> *" If we want to do ablution, use water wisely. Use it sufficiently. When you›re done, turn the sink off. There are always those who want abundant water; … You can see that in the bathroom, there is an ablution area with seven taps, all of which are turned on low, turned off when finished." (SGT, Production Admin)*

The belief that working is worshiping is mentioned to emphasize sincerity. Accordingly, sincerity is perceived as a guide in facing work challenges, such as saving energy. This view emerges as a shared belief underlying strong drives for energy sustainability performances.

> *"working is worshiping' in Islam is taught that way. For me, it concerns a lot with sincerity, to be genuine in our work (ikhlas)." (BW, Staff)*

Our findings point out Leadership and Religious Commitment (RC) as significant predictors of readiness to change (RTC). Both variables influence the psychological and behavioural willingness of employees toward energy sustainability. The influence of RC strengthens the relationship of leadership to RtC, indicating the role of personal values in organizational change. The effect of personal values on Pro-Environmental Behaviour (PEB) is recognized and therefore is extensively studied (de Groot & Steg, 2008; Steg et al., 2014). Four personal values that are often mentioned are biosphere values (reflect a concern with the quality of nature and the environment for its own sake), hedonistic values (focused on improving one's feelings and reducing effort), egoistic values (focusing on costs and benefits of

choice that influence the resources people have), and altruistic values (a concern with the welfare of other human beings). All of them are secular values and are not related to religion. In line with that, the findings of Truelove & Joireman (2009), which compared the strength of secular and religious values (Orthodox Christian), found that secular values played a more significant role in PEB. Similar results were found from a study by Carlisle & Clark (2018) which found that despite the churches' encouragements to protect nature, various Christian denominations in the US do not associate PEB with their religious teachings. In light of these results, our finding is interesting because they show the opposite idea: religious values play a role in changing behaviour toward energy sustainability.

The importance of RC shows that religiosity affects the employee's perspective on the relationship between humans and nature. The qualitative results clearly show the symbolic meaning of religious values in PEB organizational and daily-life practices. Attitudes towards the environment with a solid religious orientation are known as eco-theological approaches (a form of constructive theology that focuses on the interrelationships of religion and nature, which is particularly in the light of environmental concerns). In this case, the act of caring for nature becomes part of the spiritual communication between humans and the Creator. Murniati et al. (2022) showed how each formal religion in Indonesia has a symbol of environmental preservation. The Islamic perspective relates the creation of the universe as a means to bring knowledge for humankind and proof of the existence and omnipotence of Allah Almighty.

Three things of Islamic normative theological teachings in treating nature focus on how the natural environment is created, how the natural environment is managed and utilized, and how the natural environment is preserved. The Hindu view emphasizes the primary harmonious and synonymous integrative unity with salvation, termed *Tri Hita Karana*, namely the Human-God relationship, the human-nature relationship, and the relationship between humans. Unity among Buddhist theology teaches that all living beings exist in a life of misery (*samsara*) bound to rebirth. Everything depends on everything, and therefore maintaining the natural environment is essential. The theology of caring for the environment in Catholicism is mentioned explicitly in 'Laudato Si' (Praise be to You). This movement aims to maintain peaceful relations with humans and nature to protect our typical home (the care of our common home). These findings also show the role of religious values as personal values that serve as ultimate intrinsic motivation, unlike the study by Karimi et al. (2022b), which shows the influence of religiosity as a normative social pressure that drives PEB for Iranian women.

Our findings also present a more substantial influence of religious values than organizational leadership in organizational RtC. The discussion comparing to the role of personal values and organizational values in PEB shows interesting results. Ideally, aligned organizational and personal values will support individual environmental friendly behaviour changes (Lu et al.,

2019; Ruepert et al., 2017b). However, the two values do not always go hand in hand. Personal values are usually weaker than organizational values (Halim, 2022), because of this, many studies try to align personal values with organizational values in building PEB (Klapper et al., 2020). The findings of our study are interesting because they show the opposite, namely, the influence of personal beliefs is stronger than organizational values. Therefore, it further strengthens the role of leadership.

Benefiel compiled various research on the influence of religion in the workplace, leading to some empirical conclusions. First, religious practices positively affect organizational commitment, job satisfaction, productivity, and organizational citizenship behaviour at the individual and work unit levels. Second, religion also positively affects the emergence of ethical conduct in employees and organizations. Third, religion also affects leadership style, which is assumed to support organizational transformation Benefiel et al. (2014).

One of the references for leadership values in Indonesia is *Asta Brata* as noble leadership in Hinduism, which formulates a leadership character model in three combinations: heart, hands, and head (Mujahid et al., 2021; Natajaya, 2021). Arifin (2019) revealed that Indonesian leadership could also realize a humanist religious leadership style which is based on religious values and humanism and is under an Indonesian religious society. A prominent characteristic is the moral-theological value of the human relationship with God. Meanwhile, the leader's humanist moral values are realized in actions that refer to human relations.

The strong influence of RC on RtC can also indicate that the religious meaning of energy sustainability behaviour is owned not only by the employees but also by the leaders. Qualitative findings show that a leader's appreciation of specific religious values and teachings underlies his leadership performance. This finding aligns with the higher education leadership study by (Yosua et al., 2021), which stated that spirituality is one of the salient values of change leadership in an organizational context.

Leadership is found to be a valid predictor of organizational change. More specifically, the study findings point out the role of leader communication. Socialization, education, and promotion of energy sustainability are effective in building employee change readiness. Leaders are expected to be present, personable, easy to approach, and willing to go into the field of work. They do this not only to monitor the progress of changes but also to receive input from employees. This finding aligns with the study by (Wardani et al., 2020), which confirmed the effect of communication and transformational leadership on RtC.

The importance of adequately communicating energy sustainability emerges in this study as our data shows that the participants' average RtC score is the lowest from other two variables. It is still considered high compared to the hypothetical means. A high group score is reasonable, considering their industry is closely related to energy sustainability. However, the qualitative findings show that employees' understanding of the meaning of energy and energy variations still needs improvement. This provides

opportunities for broader promotion and education about energy security in the textile industry.

This study has several limitations: Its industry focus is still limited to the textile industry; future studies may consider using different industrial variations. Second, the data collection strategy is influenced heavily by company policy, so the researchers have limited access and control in the field.

CONCLUSION

This study involved two textile manufacturing companies operating domestically and globally. The mix-method approach shows two main predictors of organizational readiness to change: Leadership and Religious Commitment (RC). Religious Commitment has the effect of strengthening the relationship between Leadership and RtC. The main finding showed that strong religious meaning affects the perception of eco-friendly behaviour and the energy sustainability movement driven by the organization. Our main findings reinforced the importance of the role of humans and the context of their lives in building energy sustainability behaviours. The participant's RC value is the highest of the three research variables, confirming that Indonesian society is religious. Subsequent studies can take a more varied industrial context and consider a more controlled data collection.

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